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Razing of Romanian Villages Protested

LD1107150088 Hamburg DPA in German 1405 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—A few days before the Warsaw Pact summit meeting in Poland, 26 well-known civil rights campaigners from the CSSR and Poland have protested against the Romanian land reform plans. The plans of the Ceausescu government to raze thousands of villages were "Stalinist" and served the elimination of "national communities." The manifesto of the civil rights campaigners was published by the Frankfurt International Society for Human Rights on Monday.

The signatories' demand to the summit meeting asks the right to complete sovereignty for the Warsaw Pact members and for new intergovernmental treaties as well as the right to free cultural and economic development and personal freedom of movement. Among the signatories are Poland's Zbigniew Kuron and Adam Michnik, and the CSSR's Vaclav Havel and Jan Carnogursky.

GDR Delegation at Prague CEMA Meeting Named

AU0607165688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jul 88 p 1

[Text] Prague (ND)—The GDR delegation to the 44th CEMA meeting, which starts today, Tuesday, arrived in Prague on Monday [4 July]. It is led by Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers. The delegation was welcomed at Prague's airport by Lubomir Strougal, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and premier of the CSSR Government.

The GDR delegation includes Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and permanent GDR representative to CEMA; Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission; Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology; Guenter Ehrensperger, director of the SED Central Committee Planning and Finance Department; Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics. Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary; and other leading figures also attended the welcoming ceremony at the airport. GDR Ambassador Helmut Ziebart was also present.

Party Officials at CEMA Meet

LD0707141088 Warsaw PAP in English 1030 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, July 7—Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Wladyslaw Baka, who has been attending the 44th CMEA session here, had talks with his partners from fraternal parties, Jozef Lenart, Presidium member, secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Milos Nemeth, Political Bureau member and secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Grisha Filipov, Political Bureau member, secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The talks focused on substantial issues and problems in the party work in the process of the implementation of economic reforms. Discussed were issues related to shaping bilateral economic relations. Also exchanged were views on development prospects of socialist integration with particular regard to the growing role of money-financial instruments in the creation of premises of a socialist common market.

Afghan Delegation's Activities Noted

LD0707231588 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Afghan Deputy Prime Minister Mahbubullah Koshani, who leads a delegation taking part in the 44th CEMA session in Prague, delivered a speech on 5 July.

The messages of Dr Muhammad Hasan Sharq, Afghan prime minister, addressed to the prime ministers of the CEMA member countries, were delivered to the representatives of these countries.

The report adds that Commerce Minister Muhammad Khan Jalalar spoke with the deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers about the growth and expansion of bilateral trade.

During the conversation, the deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers expressed readiness to expand trade with the Republic of Afghanistan.

Scientific Cooperation Pact Signed With DPRK

AU0707190488 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] The 15th session of the Joint Commission for Technical and Scientific Cooperation Between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the DPRK took place on 1-7 July 1988 in Tirana, and the relevant protocol for scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries for 1989-1990 was signed.

For the Albanian side, the protocol was signed by Shyqri Bakalli, secretary of the Committee for Science and Technology, and for the Korean side by Pak Yong-si, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the DPRK in Tirana.

Ajet Ylli, chairman of the Committee Science and Technology, and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also attended the signing ceremony. The protocol provides for cooperation between the two countries in agriculture, the food and engineering industries, fisheries, and other areas.

Ajet Ylli, chairman of the Committee for Science and Technology, received the delegation of the DPRK State Committee for Science and Technology, headed by Pak Yong-si, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the DPRK in Tirana, and held a friendly conversation about the problems of scientific and technical cooperation between our two countries.

During its stay in our country, the delegation visited the districts of Tirana, Kruje, Pogradec, and Korce.

Alia Receives New Turkish Ambassador

AU1107183688 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received today Teoman Surenkok, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his letters of credential.

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Sihat Tozaj, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Andon Berxholi, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Kostaq Cifligu, head of the Department of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were also present at the ceremony.

The ambassador was accompanied by diplomats of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana.

Alia Attends Army Day Commemorations

AU1007190488 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 10 July broadcast a 14-minute report on various activities held in Tirana on the occasion of Army Day. A reporter at the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery described the scene as Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, arrived to place a wreath in front of the Mother Albania monument. The reporter stated that Alia was accompanied by "Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of the people's defense; Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of internal affairs; and Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chief of the General Staff."

The reporter said that Alia and the other party and state leaders met a group of servicemen and spoke to them, prior to placing a wreath in front of the Mother Albania monument, while Albania's national anthem was being played. They also stood in front of Enver Hoxha's grave and placed another wreath and then walked past the row of graves of the martyrs of the nation.

At 0900 GMT, Ramiz Alia, accompanied by Adil Carcani, Simon Stefani, Prokop Murra, Hekuran Isai, Kico Mustaqi, and Pirro Kondi, visited a unit of the Tirana garrison. After reviewing a guard of honor, while a band played, Alia and the other party and state leaders hailed the troops, who then marched past the supreme commander.

The reporter then said that Alia and his entourage visited the Higher School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where they met with students and teachers in various classrooms before leaving the school.

The reporter also said that other units of the Tirana garrison were visited by AWP Central Committee Politburo members Hajredin Celiku, Rita Marko, Manush Myftiu, and Besnik Bekteshi.

CEMA Summit 'of Key Importance' for Integration

AU0807173588 Sofia BTA in English
1641 GMT 8 Jul 88

["New Model of Socialist Integration"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 8 (BTA commentator Veselin Toshkov)—The results of the 44th session which the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance completed in Prague make it an event of key importance in the progressing integration among the socialist countries. The overhaul of the cooperation mechanism, which the socialist countries objectively need at this stage of their development, crystallized into the international socialist division of labour concept adopted by the session.

Undeniably, the Prague meeting of CMEA received a powerful political and creative impetus from the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU. The in-depth analysis of the socioeconomic realities and prospects of present-day socialism, which was made in Moscow, had a bearing on the statements and on the joint decisions of the CMEA member states.

The suggestions for restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration and on CMEA's operation, approved by the session, came as an expression of new thinking in the relations among the socialist countries. One particularly important point is the decision to perfect the cooperation mechanism gradually, to the extent to which the requisite internal and external conditions are available at each particular stage. The interests of the CMEA countries will be taken into account, as will be their efforts to streamline their national economic mechanisms. The desire to create an integrated CMEA market, reaffirmed at the session, is particularly noteworthy in this connection.

At their latest forum, the CMEA member states reaffirmed their constructive positions on the rechanneling of funds released as a result of disarmament to economic and social development, to the establishment of a fair international economic order and to guaranteeing economic security of all states.

The session assessed the normalization of relations between CMEA and the EC and the establishment of formal relations between the individual CMEA members and the European Community as a substantial contribution to the further promotion of international economic cooperation and to the improvement of the political climate in Europe and worldwide.

The results of the CMEA session in Prague give us reasons to be confident that by uniting their efforts, the socialist countries will be in a position to reveal their economic potential, to meet the challenges of the revolution in science and technology, to catalyze further the raising of their peoples' material and cultural standards.

At this latest session, too, Bulgaria reaffirmed her readiness to contribute actively to the further enhancement of integration processes within CMEA. The next regular session of CMEA which, as agreed, will be held in the Bulgarian capital, will sum up the results of the application of the collective concept on the international socialist division of labour.

Japanese MP Kanemaru Visits

Received by Zhivkov

AU0807200088 Sofia BTA in English
1918 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Sofia, July 8 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, today received Mr Shin Kanemaru, a prominent political figure and member of the House of Representatives of the Japanese Diet.

The guest was familiarised with the renewal under way in all spheres of life and seeking to turn Bulgaria into a highly advanced and civilised socialist state.

A shared desire was expressed for an expansion of the multifaceted ties between Bulgaria and Japan. It was emphasised that in the conditions of new political realities in the world, there are favourable opportunities for still more vigorous promotion of mutually advantageous economic and techno-scientific cooperation in the spirit of the good relations existing between the two countries.

Talks With Todorov

AU0807125988 Sofia BTA in English
1205 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Sofia, July 8 (BTA)—Readiness for development of Bulgaro-Japanese relations, especially in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation, was expressed today during the talk between Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, and the visiting here renowned Japanese political figure Mr Shin Kanemaru, chairman of the faction of the governing Liberal-Democratic party in the Japanese parliament.

During the talks the two sides exchanged information on the socioeconomic development of the two countries. Mr Stanko Todorov briefed the guest on the restructuring of social life in this country, the new economic mechanisms providing for activation of the economic contacts with other countries, Japan included. The opinion was expressed that the necessary preconditions exist for the transition to new forms of economic relations, for establishing of joint enterprises. The recent resolution for the establishing of duty-free zones in Bulgaria also provides a favourable basis to this end. It was stressed that it is necessary to accelerate the work on the signing of agreements between Bulgaria and Japan for avoidance of double taxation and for encouraging of investments.

The positive influence of the new political thinking on the international relations was noted and the will of the two countries to contribute further to the strengthening of peace and security in the planet was confirmed.

'Negative Attitude' to Increased Credit

OW0907015388 Tokyo KYODO in English
0118 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Sofia, July 8 KYODO—Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov on Friday asked Japan to expand its credit line to Bulgaria as a means of strengthening bilateral relations, Japanese officials said.

Zhivkov made the request in a meeting with ~~Shin~~ Kanemaru, a former Japanese deputy prime minister now on an official visit to Bulgaria after visiting Turkey.

But Kanemaru, Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita's mentor, showed a negative attitude toward Zhivkov's request, saying that joint ventures can also be a means of strengthening bilateral relations, the officials said.

Japan at present extends credits to Bulgaria of up to 20 billion yen once every two years.

Kanemaru, however, pledged that Japan would cooperate if Bulgaria proposed industrial projects in concrete terms, they said.

Stanko Todorov, president of the National Assembly, visited Japan in March and asked Takeshita to expand Japan's credit line to 200 billion yen.

Takeshita reportedly told Todorov that Bulgaria should decide on industrial projects which it wants to promote with Japanese cooperation.

Balev Receives Nicaraguan Minister, Indian Official

AU0807195788 Sofia BTA in English
1752 GMT 8 Jul 88

["At the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 8 (BTA)—Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, received Mr Henry Ruiz Hernandez, member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and minister of foreign economic cooperation of Nicaragua, head of the delegation to the fifth session of the mixed Bulgaro-Nicaraguan Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific cooperation.

Mr Milko Balev expressed the invariable solidarity of the BCP and Bulgaria with the Nicaraguan people's struggle in defence of the revolution, with the active and principled line implemented by the Republic of Nicaragua in her search for a peaceful settlement of problems in Central America, with the efforts towards a free and democratic advancement of that country along the road of its choice.

The sides also considered some topical aspects of cooperation between the BCP and the FSLN, and an emphasis was laid on the shared desire for its diversification and promotion in the best interests of the two countries and their peoples.

Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, conferred with Mrs Sheila Kaul, general secretary of the Indian National Congress (I) Party, who is visiting here as a guest of honour of the Fourth Banner of Peace International Children's Assembly.

It was emphasised that the activation of cultural exchanges and of direct intercultural communication contribute substantially to the common efforts to build a world without weapons and violence and to the achievement of civilized and humane international relations.

In a candid friendly atmosphere, the sides ascertained the availability of favourable opportunities for wider contacts between the BCP and the Indian National Congress (I) Party, for a further promotion of the friendly relations between Bulgaria and India.

Zhivkov Meets With Nicaragua's Henry Ruiz

AU0907184188 Sofia BTA in English
1745 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, today received Mr Henry Ruiz Hernandez, member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and minister of foreign economic cooperation of Nicaragua.

They had a wide-ranging exchange of views on the new processes and trends in present-day international life.

Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out that the new foreign political strategy of the USSR and of the other socialist countries contributes substantially to the positive changes in the current international situation. This creates favourable conditions for a settlement of the Central American problems that would be acceptable to all parties concerned. Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed full support for the flexible and realistic policy implemented by the Nicaraguan leadership.

In the discussion of bilateral relations, the sides stressed the need for economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Nicaragua to be addressed in a new way so as to make it more efficient for both partners.

Poll Taken on Intellectual Restructuring

AU1007152588 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 4 July devotes the whole of page 3, under the heading "The Creative Workers of Science, Culture, and Education on the Direction for Renewal," to a report on the results of an opinion poll of members of the intelligentsia on restructuring in the intellectual sphere. The results are presented by Rumyana Kamburova and accompanied by a 500-word unattributed commentary on the poll, entitled "The Meaning," and a 500-word "commentary of the sociologist," entitled "Intellectual Potential," by Senior Scientific Fellow Todor Petev, candidate of physical sciences and chief of the "Sociology of Art and Mass Communications" Section at the Sociology Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

The population of 460 persons is stated to have been selected "on the basis of exhaustive lists of the members of the creative unions and the Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria." Of these 460 persons, it is stated that 112 work in the field of science, 194 in art and culture, 104 in the mass media, and 31 only in education. Of this number, "442 persons actually took part in the poll." It is not stated whether the selection was a random one, or how the questions were presented, i.e. by personal interview, mail, or telephone.

The population breakdown by party membership was: BCP: 232; Bulgarian National Agrarian Union: 3; Komsomol: 57; nonmembers of parties: 148; and 2 who did not indicate their membership.

It is reported that 122 of those polled were between 31 and 40 years of age, and 115—between 41 and 50 years, making up 53.8 percent of the total.

Details of the four questions asked and the replies are as follows:

"Question 1: Do you share the view that restructuring of the intellectual sphere is necessary in order to realize the July Concept for the Further Implementation of Socialism in Bulgaria?" Of those questioned, 87.5 replied with "yes," 8.8 with "perhaps," and 2.7 percent said "no." A table is presented with a breakdown of the replies to this question by party affiliation, field of work, and age group. This breakdown reveals no statistically significant variations, given the small population; however, four of the BCP members, and seven of the nonparty people, thought that restructuring was not needed.

"Question 2: In your view, what changes should take place in the organization of work and approaches to work in your scientific establishment, cultural institute, or creative union?" "Glasnost, democracy, and freedom of discussion" was thought necessary by 69 percent; "higher standards of discipline and organization" were supported by 37.4 percent; while 33.3 percent thought that "real self-management" was the way to achieve true change; and 12.5 percent offered various other proposals.

"Question 3: What do you think are the ways to increase the workers' creative activity and their competence in assessing works of art and culture, while introducing the achievements of scientific-technical progress?" Of the replies, 60.5 percent thought the best way was to increase "direct and continued contacts of the workers with art and culture"; 31.5 percent recommended "raising the various forms of amateur arts activities and technical and scientific creativity to a new, higher level"; and 33.8 percent offered a wide range of other proposals, including more art in education, developing aesthetic criteria in education, and more popularization through the mass media.

The reply of Simeon Ilarionov, candidate of physical sciences and chief assistant in dialectical and historical materialism at the Higher Institute of Architecture and Building, is published in full. Ilarionov writes: "The unsatisfactory state of teaching the ideological disciplines in our higher educational establishments is a self-evident fact even for its most optimistic practitioners. Needless efforts to present Marxist-Leninist teaching as a set of inviolable rules, "dry" lectures aimed at the students' memory capacity, not their thinking ability, and excessive repetition... are in my view the most important reasons for the students' lack of interest in their studies." Ilarionov advocates relating theoretical teaching more closely with real life, a "radical reorganization" of the curriculum, and even paying lecturers according to the numbers of students attending! Ilarionov also thinks that writers like Sartre, Camus, Wittgenstein, and Bertrand Russell are worthy of study in the curriculum.

"Question 4: What is your opinion on forming voluntary creative associations in the field of art and culture?" Of those polled, 61 percent supported the idea, 21 percent thought them unnecessary, and 12 percent were not for or against.

In his pedestrian commentary on the poll, Todor Petev merely reiterates the necessity for intellectual restructuring and summarizes the poll results, pointing out that intellectual renewal can only be achieved through grassroots self-management, free of interference from above.

The unattributed commentary claims that the poll results are a clear indication of the intelligentsia's overwhelming support for reorganization of their work, adding that the recommendation that "everything should be done to increase the self-esteem of the Bulgarian intelligentsia" depends on the intelligentsia themselves setting the highest criteria in their work and exhibiting "talent, love for their work, and high professionalism."

Politburo Decision on Illegal Land Appropriation

AU0807103288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jul 88 pp 1, 6

["Decision" Adopted by the BCP Central Committee Politburo in Sofia on 5 July: "Strict and Equal Observance of the Law"]

[Text] On several occasions in recent years the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers have been alerted by tips to gross violations in connection with the illegal appropriation and distribution of state-owned land and the unlawful construction of buildings on such plots. Having conducted several investigations, the competent state organs established numerous cases of violations connected with specially protected zones—water resources, plots belonging to the forestry and agricultural funds, and others—which have been illegally appropriated while the party and state organs have tolerated this situation. In numerous places such actions have even been committed with the cooperation of these organs. Artificial and unlawful measures have been adopted to facilitate this appropriation, thus grossly disregarding the norms of party and state discipline, the code of socialist justice, and the country's law and order.

All this has taken place before the eyes of the law courts and prosecution organs, which not only remained inactive, but in certain cases, instead of protecting the law, even allowed themselves to be involved in the activities of irresponsible individuals.

At the beginning of 1988 a special decision of the Council of Ministers was adopted which envisages a whole set of measures for the elimination of cases of unlawful construction on land belonging to the forestry and agricultural fund, as well as in specially protected zones.

Recent investigations, however, showed that these government instructions have not been implemented within the schedule. Justified dissatisfaction was expressed by certain circles of our public regarding the hesitation and delay manifested by the municipal people's councils and competent administrative departments in this respect in connection with the application of the radical measures provided for the elimination of gross violations of law by numerous citizens and officials. A situation arose under which the resolve to and possibility of accomplishing the decisions adopted by the government was subjected to doubt, which undermines the people's confidence in the strict and equal observance of laws and in the consistent struggle against crime, as well as in holding those who have committed such acts responsible.

The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee has adopted the following decision in this respect:

1. Communists working in departments, oblasts, and municipal people's councils are enjoined to show a keen sense of political responsibility and perseverance in implementing the measures designated by the Council of Ministers for the elimination and prevention of violations.

In connection with the adopted decisions, the municipal people's councils under the control of municipal BCP committees are enjoined not to wait for the final deadline set by the government, but to take prompt action to confiscate property on behalf of the state or to demolish unlawfully erected buildings and restore the land to the respective fund to which it belongs, without any compensation.

2. The proposal is submitted to the Council of Ministers, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, and the Committee of State and People's Control to hold officials or citizens, who through their actions have violated the socialist legality by appropriating state-owned land for their own needs, responsible for their actions and to subject them to administrative and penal sanctions.

The BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission is enjoined to submit by the end of 1988 a proposal to the BCP Central Committee Secretariat for holding Communists who have committed such violations politically responsible for their actions, regardless of their official position.

3. Communists working in law courts and prosecution organs are enjoined to watch over too liberal attitudes and failure to exercise strict control over the observance of the country's laws by these organs in order to guarantee the protection of the land, forestry, and agricultural funds, water resources, and specially protected environmental zones.

The oblast and municipal BCP committees are enjoined to hold party meetings in the law court and prosecution departments, during which cases of such violations should be discussed, and to take measures to enhance the role of the aforementioned organs, as well as the sense of responsibility of Communists in the struggle against violations.

4. The mass media are enjoined to pursue their purpose-oriented work in creating an atmosphere of public intolerance toward violations, in favor of observing the law under the conditions of extensive glasnost, and to severely criticize problems stemming from unlawful construction activities as negative phenomena incompatible with our socialist legality and with the restructuring process.

The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee expresses confidence that the party and state organs will ensure a consistent protection of socialist property and the national economy, by ensuring that everyone observes the law and the legal order on an equal basis, and that no deviations from the rules and norms of socialist society are tolerated.

Assembly Delegation's Visit to the U.S.

LD0107233188 Prague CTK in English 0758 GMT 1 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 1 (CTK correspondent)—A group of deputies of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly headed by its Deputy Chairman Bohuslav Kucera, currently on a visit to the United States, visited last night the Institute for Problems of East-West Security.

Members of the delegation took part in a debate at a round table attended also by Czechoslovak Ambassador to the United States Miroslav Houstecky, Czechoslovak delegate to the United Nations Evzen Zapotocky, and on the American side Director of the Institute John Edwin Mroz, former U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia William Luers and other officials and journalists.

Bohuslav Kucera voiced the conviction that the current visit of Czechoslovak deputies has contributed to the development of relations between the two countries, and added that a seminar on various concepts of security in Europe due in Prague in April 1989 will certainly be an opportunity for the further progress in this direction.

Bohuslav Kucera also spoke of the process of restructuring in Czechoslovakia, the aims of its foreign policy and particularly its latest initiatives. He stated that the Czechoslovak public welcomed the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range missiles stressing that this is only the beginning and that nuclear disarmament must continue towards a treaty on strategic offensive weapons.

As for conventional arms, Bohuslav Kucera rejected the U.S. demand that socialist countries should make a "unilateral step" in this direction, and spoke in favour of partial steps. In this context he recalled the Czechoslovak proposal to establish a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

The delegation visited later in the day the American Jawa plant on the Long Island, an enterprise with a share of the Czechoslovak foreign trade corporation Motokov which exports to the United States particularly Czechoslovak tractors and tyres.

Members of the delegation will be received today by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Deputies Return

LD0207205988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Jul 88

[Text] A group of Federal Assembly Deputies Headed by Bohuslav Kucera, its deputy chairman, returned to Prague today from a visit to the United States. Comrade Kucera gave an interview to Czechoslovak journalists, and our editor Tomas Chudlarksy was there.

[Chudlarsky] Bohuslav Kucera began by relating his impressions of the talks with their U.S. counterparts in terms of the future prospects for Czechoslovak-U.S. relations. This was the first visit of its kind in the history of the Czechoslovak parliament, he emphasized, noting that it was a followup to the talks held in our country in the last few years by U.S. congressmen. He then went on to say the following:

[Begin Kucera recording] Our talks contributed to clarifying a number of issues, since over the past few years naturaly a number of misunderstandings and distorted views about Czechoslovakia have built up. It was noticeable that those colleagues of ours in Congress who have been to Czechoslovakia had a much more realistic view of developments in Czechoslovakia than those who had never had any contact with us.

In my view, these talks contributed to furthering the dialogue between the representatives of Congress and our Federal Assembly and also between the American and Czechoslovak publics. We are convinced that this kind of dialogue had a role to play in promoting better understanding on both sides and also in improving Czechoslovak-U.S. relations. [end recording]

Visit Discussed

AU0807203588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jul 88 p 7

[Interview with Czechoslovak parliamentary deputies at the conclusion of their visit to the United States, by Zdenek Porybny, RUDE PRAVO Washington correspondent: "Useful Dialogue"—date and place not given]

[Text] For the first time in history a group of deputies of the highest Czechoslovak representative body paid a visit to the United States last week. Our Washington correspondent Zdenek Porybny has asked it for an interview. His questions were answered by Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly; Miroslav Stepan, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of the People; and Richard Nejezchleb, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee of the Chamber of Nations.

[Porybny] How do you view the results of your trip across the ocean?

[Kucera] Ours was the first ever visit by a Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation to the United States. Although the visit was unofficial, we had the opportunity to meet a number of top U.S. congressional representatives as well as government officials.

The useful thing, above all, was that we could directly elucidate to our counterparts in Congress and the government our views, the views of deputies, and of our public on a number of issues, particularly those concerning all the people living on our planet.

There is no doubt that the current developments in the world, above all the results of the meeting of the highest U.S. and USSR representatives in Moscow, were a good basis for a frank dialogue. We did not conceal our interest in the further continuation of the process of nuclear and conventional disarmament, and we told our counterparts about our Czechoslovak initiatives, above all about the proposal to establish a zone of trust and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

It is obvious that we did not agree on everything. That, after all, could not have been expected. However, the useful thing is that American politicians listened to our arguments with attention, and I hope that some of these arguments will be taken into consideration when formulating foreign policy in the future.

This dialogue which actually started in Czechoslovakia during a visit by U.S. congressmen was now transferred across the ocean, and I believe that it will continue during meetings held in the framework of the Interparliamentary Union, and again in both Prague and Washington.

[Porybny] Your group met with more than 30 American political and public figures and academics. What was the course of your discussions, and what do Americans know about our country?

[Stepan] Judging from our experience, Americans know very little about our country. Moreover, Czechoslovakia is often a subject of disinformation in the United States. This makes all the more valuable the interest shown by the congressmen and government officials with whom we met in the comprehensive program of restructuring and democratization of all spheres of social life, which we have currently begun implementing.

The discussions were very frank; at times we did not agree. We were reminding our counterparts that, above all, it is necessary to respect the truth. This was true, for example, when we were talking about human rights. It was occasionally asked whether we are not proceeding too slowly with restructuring. We explained to our counterparts that we are carrying out restructuring taking into consideration our historical experience, under the party's leadership, for our people, for socialism.

We also recommended that they weigh their information and sources about life in Czechoslovakia, and thus rid themselves of the illness which arises from the fact that they hear only what they want to hear.

We see the base for being mutually better informed—and we told the members of Congress and the government this—in strengthening contacts between representatives of broad public opinion in the two countries. And the deputies of the two countries' representative bodies belong to them. Also expanding economic cooperation—especially without the existing discrimination—and of scientific-technical exchange, cultural and other contacts, including students' exchange, would help improve mutual relations and knowledge about one another.

[Porybny] You also spoke with senators and members of the House of Representatives who have visited Czechoslovakia in the past 2 years. Were their views of our country different from the attitudes of those who know it from hearsay only?

[Stepan] We noticed that on the whole American officials who have visited Czechoslovakia hold more realistic views on the further development of relations between the two countries, which is only natural. More frequent visits by U.S. congressmen to our country in the past 2 years yielded fruit in, after all, a better grasp of our reality. And this also creates a good basis for making progress in the future on issues on which we did not agree.

[Kucera] Czechoslovakia is a known entity in the United States. The fact that we could convince ourselves about the interest of Congress and, in the end, also of government circles in conducting a dialogue with us, was important for us. This, too, is a hopeful sign for the future.

[Porybny] During your talks much time was devoted to the problem of reducing the conventional arms buildup in Europe. What is your impression about this?

[Nejezchleb] I think it is a positive fact that we could explain to U.S. congressmen and government officials all our opinions on this issue. We stressed one thing—that we are not interested in one or another side being disadvantaged. On the contrary, we are ready for a balanced reduction of the conventional arms buildup in Europe. We resolutely opposed attempts to link progress in conventional arms reduction to other issues which exclusively concern the state's internal affairs. We also met with that in the United States.

We might have taken at least a small step forward by explaining our stances to one another, a matter that is always necessary in order to continue talks, be it at the interparliamentary or government level.

[Porybny] What pleased you most during the visit?

[Stepan] The nice, and not only nice, but also politically symbolic welcome of our group in the Senate, when the chairman of the session interrupted deliberations, and we were introduced to the senators present. An absolute majority of them then came to shake hands with us and expressed a few words of welcome. All those words expressed good will and respect for what our people have achieved.

We felt that it is precisely the representatives of parliaments who have the great opportunity to establish and strengthen those links of trust, which we need so much in international relations today.

Husak Congratulates President Reagan on 4 July

AU0807202388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Negotiations, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—CSSR President Gustav Husak sent a congratulatory telegram to U.S. President Ronald Reagan on the occasion of his country's national holiday.

Weekly on Soviet Nations' 'Right' To Secede

AU2906141388 Prague TRIBUNA No 25 in Czech on 22 Jun 88 p 9

[Jozef Kuptik article in the "Our Reply" column]

[Excerpts] In a letter to TRIBUNA Jaroslav Pokorny from Nova u Valtic expands upon the national question in the USSR. He writes that the Soviet Constitution "recognizes any state's right to secede" but as soon as an individual or a group begins to call for the secession of a nation, this is thwarted. "I simply have the impression that this right is guaranteed de jure, but not de facto," the author of the letter writes. [passage omitted]

The national question, the self-determination of nations, up to their secession, is a complex issue. It must on no account be underestimated. In order for it to be successfully resolved, it is necessary to fulfill in dialectical unity all the tasks that are connected with it—to eliminate national oppression and inequality, ensure the free development and genuine equality of nations, and guard like the apple of one's eye the implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism. [passage omitted]

An unjust solution to the national question often makes itself felt in the social sphere; it is then reflected in the people's awareness and state of mind and, sometimes, comes to a head in the form of manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism.

However, the right to self-determination, up to secession, is not a right to anarchy and extremism, no matter how much partial support for such actions may have its roots in insensitive interference in the national policy, in the management of culture, and so forth. Cases of such insensitivity are well known from the Soviet press. [passage omitted]

Marxism-Leninism considers the national question to be a serious, or even exceptionally serious, matter. In the conclusion of his outstanding work "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," Vladimir Ilich Lenin wrote the following about this: "The complete equality of nations, the right of nations to self-determination, and the union of the workers of all nations— this is the national program which Marxism, the experiences of the whole world, and the experiences of Russia teaches workers." And in a different place he wrote that the primary reason why the Bolshevik Party must achieve a close union of workers, regardless of their nationality, is to combat chauvinism, any national exclusiveness, and any nationalism.

The propaganda of the slogan about the right of nations to self-determination, up to secession, was of exceptional importance for the internationalist education of proletarians, for the education of all nations and ethnic minorities in a democratic and socialist spirit. This propaganda stressed: Should the question of the right to secession arise in any nation, it must be dealt with by taking account of the level of society's development. The right of nations to free secession must not be confused with the question of whether the secession of one nation or another at a particular moment is expedient. The expediency of secession must be determined by the proletarian party in each individual case with absolute independence, taking account of the interests of society as a whole, the interests of its development, and of struggle for socialism.

V. I. Lenin asserted the right of nations to self-determination up to secession at the time of the USSR's founding, in drawing up the first constitution and other constitutional documents. He spoke about the necessity of fighting great power chauvinism and of protecting the non-Russian peoples against the derzhimordy [Russian term used] (guardians of order in Gogol's "The Government Inspector"); he made a distinction between the nationalism of the oppressing and the nationalism of the oppressed nation, between the nationalism of large and small nations. He more than once observed that, by one's conduct and concessions to the members of another nation, it is essential to offset distrust, suspicion, and the wrongs inflicted on them in the past by the "great power" nation.

Let us recall Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's statement in his interview for a group of American journalists from THE WASHINGTON POST company press concern. In it he does not pretend that problems in the national question do not exist. But these problems will be dealt with in the spirit of the main tasks of restructuring, in the process of the fundamental renewal of society, in the spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism, on a truly democratic basis, as is stressed in the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The theses also express the conviction that the communists of all nationalities have always been the cementing force and the soul of the great socialist union of the Soviet peoples, and that in tackling the national question they will continue to live up to this great and responsible mission.

Chnoupek Briefs Envoys on Jakes Initiative

LD0107222188 Prague CTK in English 1632 GMT 1 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek today informed foreign ambassadors of the response to, and Czechoslovak preparations for, the further development of the initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states.

The initiative was presented by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes last February.

The foreign minister told the ambassadors of states-participants in the conference on European security and cooperation, i.e. the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries and European neutral and non-aligned states, that the response to the initiative is largely positive. He appreciated the support expressed by Czechoslovakia's allies in the Warsaw Treaty, as well as the interest of a number of West European countries.

He dealt in detail with Czechoslovakia's ideas and proposals in the political, military and economic spheres, in environmental protection and humanitarian matters.

In the political field, Czechoslovakia attaches great importance to the creation of a permanent mechanism for dialogue, exchange of views and experiences in the interest of solving these problems. it proposes regular meetings and consultations of parliamentary representatives and government officials and the conclusion of protocols on cooperation.

The minister dealt in detail with measures being proposed in the military sphere under which the so-called "diluted zone" would reduce the possibilities of a sudden attack.

Great possibilities exist in the economic sphere. The proposals concern cooperation between industrial enterprises in production, on third markets, joint ventures, removal of barriers hampering goods exchanges, transport, and energy systems, etc.

The minister also made several proposals concerning the environment, which is becoming an important field in international relations. They could involve exchange of information, cooperation in technologies, in the notification, and liquidation of ecological accidents, etc.

He paid great attention to the humanitarian sphere, contacts on national, regional and district scale along the common border, the creation of conditions for the development of international tourism, cooperation in the struggle against international terrorism and narcotics trade, streamlining of visa and customs procedures, quicker handling in border traffic, direct regulations between cultural organizations and institutions, teaching of languages, and other issues.

The minister stressed that the Czechoslovak initiative is organically linked with the all-European process. He voiced the conviction that dialogue will enrich it with new ideas. This would be welcome because the initiative stems not only from the feeling of co-responsibility for the European house at the turn of the millenium but also from the internal need to ensure favorable conditions for the implementation of tasks defined by sessions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. Its philosophy and aims fit well into the period of the strengthening of favourable tendencies in international development.

Premier Colotka Welcomes EEC-CEMA Declaration

LD2506141088 Prague CTK in English 1217 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Text] Bratislava June 25 (CTK)—The 20th international chemical trade fair "Incheba 88" was opened here today by Czechoslovak deputy premier, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and Slovak Premier Peter Colotka.

He said on this occasion that "the dynamic development of the Czechoslovak chemical industry and Czechoslovak economy in general provides scope for new, unprecedented possibilities for cooperation with chemical and engineering enterprises in the other European and overseas countries".

In this connection he recalled the joint declaration of the CMEA and EEC ountries to be signed in Luxembourg today and said: "We welcome this declaration as an expression of will to contribute to peaceful coexistence, security and strengthening of confidence among nations and states in our 'common European home' through economic, scientific and technical cooperation".

The declaration "reflects the realistic approach, the reaction to the demands and needs of life especially in the present era when mankind, after Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow, has made a historical step towards a more secure world free of nuclear weapons. On all continents and in Europe particularly the INF Treaty and the results of the Moscow meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan were received with the conviction that the disarmament process will continue, that nuclear arsenals will gradually be liquidated, that the number of conventional weapons will be reduced and that chemical weapons will be eliminated and banned", he said.

Report on 30 June CSSR Government Session

AU0607094688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Held Meeting"]

[Text] Prague— At its meeting [on 30 June] the CSSR Government was acquainted with the results of the 127th session of the CEMA Executive Committee, which was held in Moscow on 17 - 19 May 1988, and approved the course of the Czechoslovak delegation at that meeting.

The government discussed a report on the preparations for the 44th CEMA session, which will be held—as already reported—on 5 - 7 July 1988 in Prague. It appointed a delegation which will represent the CSSR at that session. The delegation will be headed by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal. The meeting further discussed and approved principles for the course of the CSSR delegation at that CEMA session, and heard a report on the political-organizational ensurance of that meeting.

The government discussed a proposal for a comprehensive application of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the agriculture-and-food complex, which is to become effective on 1 January next year, and the CSSR Government's draft decree on the financial management of state enterprises in the branch of the agriculture-and-food complex, united agricultural farms, and joint ventures. The two proposals proceed from the fundamental principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia. The proposed measures reduce directive intervention in the management of agricultural and food production, change the content, forms, and methods of planning in such a way as to make them correspond to the requirements of the intensification and increased efficiency of production. A major change is the application of unified principles of tax policy and price setting also in agriculture, which should make the economic conditions for its activity correspond with the rest of the national economy branches to the greatest possible extent.

In this connection it charged the CSSR Minister of Agriculture and Food with the task of submitting by the end of July a draft for an option for a new system of management of agricultural enterprises.

The principles for the restructuring of organizational structures, which the government approved by its Resolution 40/1988, will lead to the release of a certain number of staffers from various levels of management. Retraining or employing in new jobs those who are nearing the retirement age would be inexpedient from the economic and social viewpoint. Therefore the government discussed and approved a regulation which makes it possible to grant the old age pension up to 2 years before reaching the appropriate age limit. The condition is that the citizen who applies for early retirement must have been employed at least 25 years and the appropriate national committee could not find him a suitable job. The government regulation goes in effect on 1 July 1988.

The government further took a stand on four draft treaties and agreements. It agreed that the premier submit to the CSSR Federal Assembly a draft treaty between the CSSR and the PPR, and the corresponding constitutional law on changes in the borderline between the two states in border rivers. It approved a skeleton agreement on establishing an international center for data processing and electronics—the Inter EVM—which envisages the setting up of a scientific coordination center, and scientific and research institutes and plants for test productions. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, Cuba, the PPR, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia will be parties to the agreement. The government empowered the CSSR minister of finance to sign an agreement between the CSSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the use of national currencies when billing in connection with direct relations between the two countries' associations, enterprises, and organizations, as well as in the founding and operation of joint CSSR - Bulgarian ventures. The government discussed and approved a proposal on concluding an agreement on scientific-technical cooperation between the CSSR and the SFRY, which will replace the agreement of 1956, which is no longer expedient.

The CSSR minister of finance and the chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank recommended to the government to apply for credit to the International Investment Bank in Moscow. The credit will be used to reconstruct and modernize the production base for electric locomotives in the Skoda concern enterprise in Plzen.

The government acquainted itself with reports on the results of socialist competition for the Klement Gottwald Banner, for the Soviet Miners' Flag, and for the Flags of the CSSR Government and the Central Trade Union Council on the Day of Miners and Power Engineers 1988, and the Banner of Ore Mining for the 1987 economic year.

From the assessment of the Czechoslovak participation in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member States Through the Year 2000, which the government discussed, it arises that research and development capacities have not been concentrated, the solution of tasks is not efficiently coordinated, preparation for the utilization of the results in production is insufficient, and at least one-third of the tasks solved are not up to the present world standards. Therefore the government—in connection with the division of ministries in the newly organized government—again determined the responsibility of individual ministers for priorities of the Comprehensive Program, and instructed them to take concrete measures to achieve better results.

Release on CPCZ CC Presidium Session of 1 July

AU0707094788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jul 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Release on the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session; Preparation of CEMA Session Discussed; Czechoslovak Stand To Actively Support Integration Efforts and Endeavors To Speed Up Restructuring of Multilateral Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed at its Friday [1 July] session the preparation of the 44th CEMA Session which (as was already announced) will be held in Prague on 5-7 July.

It stated that the session under preparation is most significant for further CEMA activities and for developing cooperation among the countries of the socialist community, since its agenda includes the assessment and adoption of important documents which can strikingly influence the further process of socialist economic integration. The principles of the course to be taken by the Czechoslovak delegation (which the Presidium discussed) correspond to these realities, and proceed from an objective assessment of the complex period of improving and restructuring the mechanism of economic cooperation and socialist economic integration, negatively affected by the imbalanced national economies of individual member states and by the isolated manifestations of disintegrating tendencies. The Czechoslovak stand is conceived as active support for the integration effort and the endeavor to accelerate the restructuring of multilateral cooperation.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium recommended that a working team be set up after the conclusion of the 44th CEMA Session; it should consist of the representatives of central management, production, and theoretical spheres, and of representatives of party agencies. The team should work out the further course to be taken by the Czechoslovak side in accelerating the integration processes.

The Presidium also took note of information material on the results of the 127th CEMA Executive Committee Session (held in Moscow 17-19 May), and on the course and results of the CSSR premier's official friendly visit to the SFRY on 16-17 June. The Presidium discussed the proposal to change the scales and principles for paying CPCZ membership dues; this proposal is based on the suggestions of party agencies, control and auditing commissions, basic organizations, and party members and candidate members on the amounts of membership dues, above all those concerning lower income categories. The proposal will be submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee for discussion.

The Presidium released Comrade Vladimir Blechta from his office as head of the CPCZ Central Committee's state administration department; and approved Comrade Rudolf Hegenbart's appointment to this function. It also discussed certain other intraparty issues.

Official Briefs Press on State's Church Policy

AU0607200588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 88 p 7

[CTK report: "Press Conference in Bonn: the CSSR's Church Policy; Persisting Distorted Information About Our Country in the FRG"]

[Text] Bonn—Vladimir Janku, deputy minister - director of the CSSR Government Secretariat for Church Affairs, who is currently visiting the FRG together with Karol Gabris, dean of the Slovak Evangelical School of Divinity in Bratislava, briefed the journalists at a press conference in Bonn [date not given] on the CSSR's church policy.

V. Janku stated that the frank talks with the Bavarian minister of culture, with high-standing representatives of church circles, and with H. Teltschik, foreign policy adviser to the FRG chancellor, have confirmed two things: first, the sincere wish of a number of figures to overcome the obstacles accumulated in mutual relations in the past; and, second, the persisting system of misinformation about Czechoslovakia and endeavors to paint a picture of CSSR's policy which is in sharp contrast to reality.

At the press conference both V. Janku and K. Gabris replied to a number of questions, which again showed the considerably distorted ideas and very inadequate knowledge about religious life and the status of believers in the CSSR. On this occasion V. Janku stressed that believers are Czechoslovak citizens with full rights; and that (similarly) their churches are integral components of our society. The focus of church policy lies in regular contacts and a dialogue with church figures; this makes it possible to resolve various open issues and to consolidate the clergy's positive attitude toward the CSSR. V. Janku also explained the Czechoslovak Government's attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church and the filling of vacancies in individual dioceses with bishops. At the same time he stressed the Czechoslovak state's interest in resolving topical problems and in creating correct relations with the world church centers, including the Vatican.

CSSR Permits Nuns To Resume Their Activities

AU0607121788 Vienna KURIER in German 6 Jul 88 p 3

[Text] For the first time after years, the CSSR authorities have permitted 500 Catholic nuns to take up their activities. They are to take care of old and sick fellow-sisters. Since the dissolution of all orders in April 1950, the resumption of monastic life and admission of new members has been prohibited.

Honecker Orders Investigation of Stasi

AU1107134488 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 11 Jul 88 pp 14, 15

[Text] The SED leadership is currently trying to come to terms with the hunt scenes in Unter den Linden in mid-June against Western journalists and against their own people: SED head Erich Honecker has ordered a search for the culprits.

He justifies this by saying that the activities of the State Security Service (Stasi) and FDJ security squads were in gross violation of the orders from above. These orders clearly stated that the state guards should intervene only if someone tried to storm the Wall but should otherwise stay in the background. The events at the Brandenburg Gate shortly before Honecker's disarmament conference have caused severe international damage to the GDR's reputation.

Now, after the events, no one in the SED wants to be responsible for the Stasi activities: Foreign state protectors from the provinces who had misunderstood their instructions and the People's Police (who had not participated in the melees at all but had looked on without interfering) have been declared the culprits.

The investigation ordered by Honecker has embittered many functionaries in the party apparatus. Critics say that over the past few years the simple comrades have not been told that the old images of the class enemy are no longer valid. They simply vented their anger in the usual way in Unter den Linden.

If the SED chief has his way, heads will roll. FDJ chief Eberhard Aurich, 41, is one who is in particular danger. For quite some time the youth functionary has been criticized by his critics in the SED for the fact that under his leadership the FDJ has increasingly lost its influence on the rebellious GDR youth. Many people have left the association. In Jena, for instance, the FDJ has lost one-third of its members over the past months.

SED insiders do not exclude the possibility that the violent Stasi activities were guided by higher hands who deliberately wanted to damage the reputation of the SED's top man.

Fewer Exits Granted, One Million Want To Leave

AU1107140088 Bonn DIE WELT in German 9-10 Jul 88 p 1

[Werner Kahl report: "SED Makes Emigration More Difficult for Doctors"]

[Text] Bonn—In order to come to grips with the new wave of emigration, the SED leadership has issued new internal administrative guidelines to eliminate insecurity and arbitrary discretionary decisions in the application offices. According to information from East Berlin, the confidential regulations involve more generous approvals only for so-called old cases. This is the SED's attempt to reduce the high number of applications for emigration; in the GDR it is said that there are up to 1 million would-be emigrants.

New applications that are not connected with the reunification of families are to be rejected in the future. GDR citizens who continue to apply to emigrate after they have received a negative notice on their one permitted appeal are threatened with considerable fines. Even though the guidelines have been applied since May, the population has not been informed.

The effects of the current regulations can be seen in the strong increase of emigrants during the first half of 1988: 9,675 GDR citizens compared with 11,459 resettlers in all of 1987.

In East Berlin it is said that the internal guideline is the SED leaderships' way to prepare for the decision on the CSCE final document, which is expected soon. The draft resolutions of the participating states also deal with family reunification.

Diplomatic circles in East Berlin call the situation with regard to emigration perenially serious and definitely "explosive" for the SED leadership. A solution that would satisfy the citizens in middle Germany is not to be expected in the foreseeable future. Many applicants have made it known that they will not be swayed in their demand for freedom of movement, not even when they are threatened with punishment.

According to reports by tourists, the mood has worsened over the past few weeks because the GDR leadership is taking a "more restrictive attitude" in tourist traffic with regard to members of particularly qualified professions. Applications by members of the medical professions, in particular by doctors, to visit the West are being immediately rejected. Approximately one out of four doctors plans to leave the country.

After confidential talks with the East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel (SED), the FRG Government has again been told about more early releases of political prisoners from GDR prisons. This is to start in a few weeks. As before, neither Bonn nor East Berlin is making any public statements about the modalities of the humanitarian settlement. In June only three political prisoners were released early to the West.

Former Nazi Sentenced for War Crimes

LD1107172888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1506 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Halle, 11 Jul (ADN)—The First Criminal Bench of the Halle Bezirk Court today sentenced Manfred Poehlig, the former deputy platoon leader in the 304th fascist police batallion's intelligence platoon, to life imprisonment for his participation in war crimes and crimes against humanity.

After the attack on the USSR, the accused had participated in massacres in the towns of Vinnitsa, Gaysin, and Kirovograd in the Ukrainian SSR in September 1941 in which several thousand Jewish Soviet citizens, including women and children, were murdered; he also shot some of the victims himself.

Poehlig had so far escaped the legal consequences by false information, but his guilt was unambiguously proved through the testimony of witnesses from the USSR and the GDR, investigation reports by Soviet bodies on violent fascist crimes, and other evidence. The sentence is based on the law of the International Military Court in Nuremberg in connection with Articles 8 and 91 of the GDR's Constitution, Paragraphs 91 and 93 of the GDR's book of criminal law, and the UN convention of 24 November 1968 on the nonapplication of statutes of limitations to Nazi and war crimes.

In the GDR several former members of the 304th fascist police batallion have been sentenced for similar crimes in previous years.

Jakes Proposal Discussed With CSSR in Berlin

LD1107180288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Consultations were held today in Berlin between the CSSR and GDR Foreign Ministries on the CSSR's proposal, submitted in February by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary. The proposal involves creating a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the European boundary between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. The consultations also involved the SED and West German Social Democratic Party initiative to create a zone of confidence and security in central Europe. The CSSR delegation was led by Milan Kadnar, special CSSR envoy.

Environmental Talks Held With FRG in Berlin

LD1107152388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1321 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 11 Jul (ADN)—In Berlin today Dr. Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister for environmental protection and water management, and Prof Klaus Toepfer, the FRG federal minister for the environment, the preservation of nature and reactor safety, held an exchange of information and experience. The talks, which started with the conclusion of the GDR-FRG agreement on the further shaping of relations in the area of environmental protection, were thereby continued.

This document was signed 8 September 1987 in Bonn while Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR Council of State, was on an official visit to the FRG.

Both ministers positively assessed the fulfillment of the governmental agreement so far. They pointed to the 14 meetings of experts which have already been held.

Official Denies 'Self-Critical' Interview Remarks

LD1107230688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1705 GMT 11 Jul 88

["From the Horse's Mouth" program presented by Tamas Forro and Henrik Havas; presenters not individually identified]

[Text] [Presenter] One of the press sensations in Western Europe in recent weeks was that Jeno Andics, recently appointed director of the party's Agitation and Propaganda Department—he was appointed shortly after the party conference—has given an unusually self-critical statement to a British paper. Even the BBC quotes from the statement published in THE INDEPENDENT in which Jeno Andics allegedly declared that in Hungary the system had forced a substantial part of the population into emigration, or that the party is composed of a Potemkin army of pseudo-members. It is natural, therefore, that we should ask Jeno Andics himself to reply—as if from the horse's mouth—to these statements.

[Andics] I am glad that this question has been asked because I must reply by saying that I did not give a statement to THE INDEPENDENT.

What happened was that 30 journalists visited Hungary—at the invitation of the State Office for Church Affairs, following the Pope's visit [to Austria]. The chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs gave a reception for them which I also attended and I sat down for a talk there with the 30 journalists. The representative of THE INDEPENDENT was present, but I did not give a statement to him nor to any other paper. I can say in this regard that according to THE INDEPENDENT I am 45 years old and an academician. I am neither 45 years old nor an academician. According to THE INDEPENDENT I gave an interview. I did not give an interview. The rest is about as accurate as that. I am very sorry that credible sources—the BBC too—took up such materials ...

[Presenter interrupts] Yes, the entire Western press ...

[Andics interrupts] Whose original ...

[Presenter interrupts] quotes rather word for word—on the basis of what we just heard—not you but the journalist or THE INDEPENDENT because in this article there are references such as: The party policy of past years is a failure: and: People have become alienated. In other words many such statements appeared which surprised even us, Hungarian journalists.

[Andics] Yes, I too was very surprised, considering the fact that almost 30 journalists were there and only one single paper published such an interview in this connection. All the others printed something else. If I had said these things I assume that all the 30 would have jumped on them. I do not know that particular journalist of THE INDEPENDENT who was there, but I must say that for me such a journalistic ethic is inconceivable. It is one thing if one says something for a journalist to print it, but it is a another thing for a journalist to invent—using his own opinion—words on the basis of a conversation. Regretfully, the kind of invention we are talking about is such that I do not really understand either its meaning or its function beyond the fact that this way the journalist was able to secure a sensation for himself which others, too, have aired. I think that this was the reason behind his action.

[Presenter] Are you thinking of issuing a denial, asking for a correction?

[Andics] I do not know whether such ambushes can be parried because one is always exposed to them. Such ambushes must be prevented by organizations which employ such journalists—and I think that they must employ journalists and not agent provocateurs—and then it is all right. I have thought about what to do and I decided that I am unable to do anything. Anyway, there is nothing for me to do because the conversation with the journalists which took place did so with the participation of not only 30 foreign journalists but also Hungarian participants too. Everybody knows what was said. I have no [word indistinct] in this regard.

[Presenter] If this act was aimed only at sounding out how such an act would be received in the new political atmosphere, then tell me what you have found. Were there those who asked you face to face, who phoned, who said behind your back: What kind of things is this Andic talking about? In other words, how do you live through this situation, when it is discussed?

[Andics] Well, I do not know who said what behind my back, because it is said with my back turned. I must say that in this regard the reactions which I received were more or less the same; one must get used to the fact that from time to time such cheating with cards—to use this term—can take place. Nobody has asked me for any kind of proof whatsoever, no justification whatsoever, since there is no need for it.

[Presenter] I have thought about what you just said. You put it like this: The journalist of THE INDEPENDENT has made up the story. Well, until now a story had no value among Hungarian journalists; Hungarian journalists were not in a position of having a story because information could be used only if it had been published by MTI. Mass communication has been working on the basis of reflex action and I fear that it is working like this today, too.

[Andics] Look, I hope that a similar story will not come about, and in any case this was not a story. A story can exist but it must have taken place. Hwoever, what THE INDEPENDENT wrote did not take palce. Regarding this issue in general, I think that the political leadership must publish every question affecting society, consistently. This is one thing. With the exception of state secrets, all information must be made accessible.

[Presenter] We have been saying this for a long time but in practice it does not happen like this at all. We, the two of us, have many times in the past received orders—I quote—that we cannot deal with subject X or that a conversation with person X cannot go on the air, and so on.

[Andics] Let me just say that this will be settled in a reassuring manner if the necessary legal regulations appear in this respect. As long as these legal regulations are not available, there are no clear rules of the game for anybody. It is for this reason that I believe that an information act should replace the present press law which will clearly lay down the rights and duties of everybody, the politician as well as the individual political figure, and the journalist, too. Regarding the question of such stories, I believe it is part of the journalistic ethic to ask—in issues regarding persons—the approval of the person concerned.

[Presenter] I think many people would have been struck by the fact that the personnel movements following the party conference seemed to bypass the party center, because a personnel change occurred at the head of only one department, the Agitation and Propaganda Department, which now has a new leader in your person. Is there any particular significance in the fact that a new man has been chosen precisely for the leading office of press direction?

[Andics] Well, I cannot really answer this question because it should be addressed to those who took the decision about this. However, I think that I can give an affirmative answer to the question that our present-day socioeconomic processes and the program of the party conference place in the forefront tasks which, in a traditional, evolved, accustomed system, it would be difficult for the Agitation nand Propaganda Department to handle adequately.

We are on the threshold of a Central Committee session in connection with publicity, the material for which has to be prepared. This concerns the press to a large extent. We have to rethink the relationship between the party political direction and the press. We must achieve consistent assertion of the requirement that the political direction and the press should stand in a partner-like social relation to one another, whereby each helps the other, where politics with its own tools helps the press and where the press with its own tools helps politics and society as well.

In other words, there will have to be significant shifts in emphasis, largely regardless of what further changes may be expected in the future in the Central Committee organization. In this context I believe that quite a lot of unresolved problems, tensions, have accumulated in recent times. It will be necessary in the future either to resolve, attenuate, or evade them.

[Presenter] In a few days time the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Body will convene, the highest political forum of an organization which is by no means the monolithic unit we have known it to be, which we have learned it to be. That is why I ask you whether there still exists such a thing as coordinated press direction, press activity, of socialist countries.

[Andics] I do not think that coordinated press activity of socialist countries, as a kind of monolithic press policy, could be maintained even as a concept. I think that a greater degree of unity between the socialist countries also presupposes that domestic information about the individual socialist countries will become more trustworthy. Otherwise there can be no real unity. And I would also add that the possibilities of this or that country will be confined by the actual domestic political practice of this or that other country.

I would just allude to the radical changes which affect the possibilities of Hungarian press information with regard to the Soviet Union's internal processes. A basic condition for the Hungarian press to give trustworthy informatiton about the Soviet Union is that the Soviet Union should give trustworthy information. For this reason I believe that, as far as Hungary is concerned, the press in all the socialist countries can publish all the authentic information which the Hungarian press also publishes. To this extent one does not have to differentiate between the domestic and the foreign.

There are obviously certain shifts in emphasis. Different countries see different movements as essential in the practice of other countries. Certain processes are less comprehensible; it is necessary to explain those. But these are normal phenomena. For this reason I believe that in this sphere we have to aim at a unity which rests on the trustworthy, honest, internal information of all the socialist countries, and this can lead naturally also to trustworthy and honest information about one another.

[Presenter] Without thinking about it, tell us: Did you want to take on this function?

[Andics] No, I did not. Because this represents for me a very considerable change in my career. Formerly I was concerned with scientific activities, first and foremost. Here I will have considerably less opportunity for that, probably hardly any. On the other hand, my life-style will also change—and not for the better, either for myself personally or for my family.

MSZMP's Szuros on Relations With Spain, PSOE

LD1107125788 Budapest MTI in English
1120 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Madrid, July 11 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, gave an interview to the Madrid correspondent of MTI. On Hungarian-Spanish relations he said that similarity in the economic structures of the two countries may hinder the development of bilateral relations. The level of economic relations is low compared to political or cultural contacts. We have to strive for raising economic cooperation worth 68 million dollars last year to the level of political contacts.

Answering a question on the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain (PSOE) Szuros expounded: 'The way of thinking of the PSOE is not alien to us. We have always started from the recognition that a socialist society can be built only for the whole people and together with the whole people. There is no real socialism without real democracy. I would not say that there is greater democracy in Spain than in Hungary, but it is informative in itself that the Socialist Workers' Party of 230-250,000 members work in a country of 40 million inhabitants. We also hold that our party should not be inflated. Emphasis must be laid on the strengthening of mass support. In Spain we witnessed how wide the social control of the party is.'

Cardinal Paskai on Hungarian Minorities in Romania

AU0807145488 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Jul 88 p 4

["Statement by Esztergom Primate Dr Laszlo Paskai—Hungarian People and Preservation of National Values"]

[Text] Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, primate and archbishop of Esztergom and chairman of the Conference of Bishops, published a statement in the latest issue of the Catholic weekly UJ EMBER [NEW MAN]. We publish here excerpts from this statement made in connection with his new title of cardinal.

"The 950th anniversary of the death of St Stephen has again directed the attention of Hungarians all over the world to our national values and fostering them.

"On the occasion of this anniversary, our public life is expressing its respect for the King who founded our state in various forms. A series of scientific meetings and festivities, and the press have stressed St Stephen's role in organizing a state and educating the nation, as well as our national history, culture, and traditions. All these events are more than just remembrance festivities. They contribute to the fostering of Hungarian culture and correct Hungarian awareness. Our roots have become alive again, roots which have been nourishing our nation for centuries and on which we have to build our future now, under changed circumstances, and preserve our national identity.

"It is a heartening sign that the large number of Hungarians living abroad are also reviving St Stephen's heritage. As good citizens of their countries, they preserve their own Hungarian historical and cultural values and thus enrich themselves and their surroundings."

Dr Laszlo Paskai stresses that it is very sad for him that in his first statement following his inauguration as cardinal he must raise his voice of protest in favor of national culture. "The whole world was shocked at the decision of the Romanian Government to completely destroy most of that country's villages. Villages are not only small settlements but also an organic part of a country as a whole, and they also house particular national values and people's culture. Destroying buildings, including churches, is equal to destroying historical and cultural values, irrespective of the nationality of the citizens who live there. It is particularly painful for us that this Romanian plan means not only the destruction of Romanian and German villages, but the destruction of Hungarian villages, too.

"It is impossible to understand how such a decision can emerge in Europe in the second half of the 20th century. For us, this is even sadder because this is occurring in a country with which we want to live in friendship and with which we have so many ties of friendship and kinship.

"As Hungarian citizens, the members of our church are among those who are protesting these measures. The innumerable letters, requests, and collections of signatures addressed to me, as well as the statements made by my bishop and priest brothers are all proof of this. On the basis of all this, and on behalf of the Hungarian Catholic Church, I call upon the domestic and international state and public bodies to do everything in their power to stop this plan to destroy culture and history, as well as men and national identity. We do all this not with the intention of interfering in the internal affairs of a country but to defend the implementation of fundamental human rights everywhere. I am confident that international public opinion will make the Romanian Government understand how damaging and even tragic it would be to implement its decision, not only for the national minorities that live there but also all the nation and all society.

"At the same time, as believers, the members of our church will help their brothers by their prayers too. I call upon our believers to pray for the fate of our brothers. The festivities in memory of St Stephen and the procession of the holy right hand of St Stephen throughout the country are a good opportunity for this. When our lips utter words of protest, prayers should fill our hearts, and our souls should be filled with conciliation. In this way we can provide true Christian assistance to our brothers in Romania—by asking the intervention of the Blessed Virgin and of the Hungarian saints for God's blessing.

"I repeat: I am very sad that, in my first statement as a cardinal, I must protest on behalf of my bishop and priest brothers and on behalf of our believers. The archbishops of Esztergom have always contributed to the defense of Hungarian national and cultural values. I want to do the same as archbishop of Esztergom as I did when I was installed as cardinal. I believe in the power of prayer. I have confidence that our joint prayer and efforts will serve the interests of our brother living in Romania," Laszlo Paskai writes in his statement.

Change in Church-State Relations Anticipated

LD0507135988 Vatican City International Service in German 1400 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Here is a report from Aldo Parmegani on the change in relations between the state and church in Hungary.

[Parmegani] There could be movement in the attitude of Marxist Hungary toward the religious communities, and primarily the Roman Catholic Church. There is discreet talk in neighboring Austria of a new consensus between the state and the church. The head of the MSZMP Central Committee Propaganda Department, the sociologist Jeno Andics, who was newly appointed last week, would not put it that way. However, his remarks to the first international group of journalists, who last week were invited to Hungary jointly by the state and the church, are to be understood as a clear, and in this form, new yes to the work of churches in Hungary within the scope provided by the Constitution.

The wording used by Andics in an almost chatty conversation with the group of journalists clearly indicated an impetus toward modernization of the communist picture of man. Those who said that socialism would help atheism to achieve a breakthrough had been false prophets because understanding gained in the meantime showed that there were inner causes for religiosity which could not be abolished. The famous words of Marx that religion is the opiate of the people no longer applied. Their correctness was limited to the conditions for which the expression was coined. The new religiosity, however, which marked modern society, including Hungary, was quite different.

Would religion also be adopted in the classless society? Andics rejected the question because the answer could be only speculation. Concrete on the other hand were the joint interests of today's state and church. These included raising moral standards in society, such as combating football hooliganism at stadiums, enriching intellectual life, backing world peace, and in particular, solving social and economic questions.

Behind this theoretical-sounding formulation of tasks for the involvement of the churches lie thorny issues. The faulty developments in the Hungarian economy, which curently are being examined by a commission, have unleashed social and intellectual tensions, as Andics admitted. The new estimation of the state intimated for the church apparently is connected causally with the country's massive economic problems, as well. It cannot be established from the remarks made by Andics or from the much more restrained comments made to the same group of journalists by significant churchmen, such as the secretary of the Hungarian Bishops' Conference, Bishop of Pecs Jozsef Cserhati, what the future of the Hungarian Catholic Church, with its approximately 7 million believers, could be. We live in a period of fruitful expectations, Cserhati accurately assessed the situation.

The successor to Cardinal Lekai, who died in 1986, Hungarian Primate Laszlo Paskai has signalled a renewal of belief, the easing of the serious shortage of priests, and for increased involvement by the laity. As far as relations between the state and the church are directly concerned, the signals have remained less clear. The glance toward Moscow, where church leaders take their places in seats of honor, is apparent, as is caution. An indication is Cserhati's reply to the question whether, after around 60,000 Hungarian Catholics went to the Burgenland on the occasion of the papal visit to Austria, there soon could be a visit to Hungary by Pope John Paul II, he said a papal visit to Hungary is not a topical question. He personally believed the pope would visit Hungary only after visiting Moscow. [passage omitted]

SZOT Leader Nagy Interviewed on Union Movement

LD1007223788 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 10 Jul 88

["The Week" program; interview with Sandor Nagy, general secretary of SZOT and MSZMP Central Committee member by an unidentified reporter]

[Text] Now we will introduce an old friend, Sandor Nagy, who is a regular participant in political debate programs, so he is not a stranger to viewers. Why does he need to be introduced? Because he has a new job, and this means new tasks too. The guest of "The Week" today is Sandor Nagy, the new general secretary of the Trade Union National Council, [SZOT], and, since the party conference, a member of the Central Committee.

[Reporter] You were formerly the secretary of SZOT. The election, even if there were other candidates, did not generate particular excitement. Still, many people asked the question: What ideas does the new leader, who was brought up and educated in the earlier political practice, have regarding the renewal of the trade union movement?

[Nagy] I think that what is important here as a whole, is not what ideas I have, but how much I know about the ideas of the trade union membership. And I think that not just I, but my work colleagues too, have had the opportunity over the past years to experience what this trade union membership wants, the essence of which is that they want a trade union which is forceful, strong, takes itself seriously, has self-respect, thinks responsibly, and is predictable. Trade union members request many things regarding trade union work. They complain that our stand was not successful enough, they complain that we were not able to gain acceptance for our standpoints which were carefully formulated. I think that this, by the way, is only partly the responsibility, or fault, or deficiency of the trade union movement. The social-political environment which surrounds the trade unions is at least as important—how much the trade union movement is allowed to exploit its own sphere of movement—as how much it takes itself seriously.

[Reporter] What is your opinion, how can the number one leader of SZOT represent the movement, the trade union, when he participates in the sessions of the higher decision-making bodies of the party?

[Nagy] This question can be answered differently, I think, in a system of political institutions in a one-party system, and in one in a multiparty system. In our relations, I think that the key to the question is not simply whether a trade union leader is a member or not of one of the party's political directing bodies, but concerns much more on which questions the party's leading organs make prior decisions or create standpoints.

As a Central Committee member, I must contribute to certain questions, with a sense of responsibility for being a party member who has been elected to the highest forum of the party, and as somebody who, starting out from important questions of the party policy, wants to contribute to decisions, adding to this his own opinion.

At the same time, I do not think that this must necessarily conflict with the trade union function, for looking at what the Trade Union Presidium or the National Council of Trade Unions formulates as a standpoint, looking at a trade union official, this is compulsory [as heard]. I see the possibility of solving this seemingly insoluble contradiction in not interpreting rigidly responsibility, with reference to individuals, in the decisions brought by the various bodies; we should not create a situation in which people get into insoluble conflict situations which they themselves cannot resolve. I see this as the solution. Now, I am looking for this not so much within the trade unions, but primarily in the work style of the party, and its decision-making mechanisms.

[Reporter] We have heard that an alternative trade union group has been created. What do you think about the formation of this? Can you imagine in the future—how can it fit in at all in the Hungarian trade union movement?

[Nagy] My opinion, first of all, is that if an alternative trade union grouping appears, that in some way necessarily—if it works in that area—can be interpreted also as a critique of the work of the trade union. I put the emphasis on this. This does not, of course, preclude that under the title, or with the aim of forming a trade union—of course many other intentions, motivation, endeavors, ideas, too—it may come to light, and it may transpire later that perhaps it resembles a trade union only in name, it is much rather some other kind of endeavor [incomplete sentence as heard] But I do not want to get entangled in details here, for I see the essence of the matter in that the task of the trade union movement—that is the trade unions gathered within the framework of SZOT, or within this alliance—is to regain the confidence of the membership, to preserve this, and that they should work so that nobody should think of creating alternative movements compared to this, or in opposition to this, or outside this.

In Hungary, in this respect, there are certain unregulated matters, from a legal point of view—more precisely perhaps there is a legal gap. For valid legal regulations—at least not to the necessary degree and detail—do not regulate the conditions to create either a trade union, or other, groupings. To the best of my knowledge, work is underway which is directed toward eliminating this legal gap.

[Reporter] What necessary corrections are you thinking of for the trade union movement to be renewed?

[Nagy] We must thoroughly review our system of tools, too. In this respect, I think there are deficiencies. I consider it to be a deficiency that, at least on certain levels in the trade union movement, it is not regulated precisely: What is the right, the duty, or the obligation, as part of partner-like relations, mutually of the state and trade union organs? I briefly mention here those classical trade union tools, beginning with the public talk mechanism and extending right through to the right to strike, which can be taken advantage of within legal regulations.

[Nagy] I very much hope that in handling the conflicts that can undoubtedly be found in the Hungarian economy and Hungarian society, and that presumably will not subside in the future, it is not strikes that will have to be used. But just because I sincerely hope, honestly think we can, and will personally work to avoid this—is why I consider it to be important that the right to strike and conditions for its use be regulated. This is not a subjective personal idea where a harder expression of interests is needed, or some kind of political show or only—and I put only in quotation marks—just an expression of interests.

In a strange way—I should perhaps add—this is also important because if a trade union movement really has such important, weighty tools requiring great responsibility, then it also has a different value if it uses these tools but does not really take advantage of them. When a person has weapons in his hands, that person's self-moderation, responsible, predictable behavior (?is taken with a different weight) in terms of influencing society's processes than a person who says he will not use these tools but about whom it cannot really be known what tools he has renounced.

[Reporter] In a situation like this, how do you see the next 5-10 years?

[Nagy] Well, we must do our own jobs. The government must work to effectively organize the economy. The trade union must see those people who are affected by the various economic steps and must protect their interests—naturally in a responsible, non-demagogic way, not abusing the possibilities, but really taking on the responsibility for these people's personal fate. This clearly means we cannot avoid future conflicts.

[Reporter] Thank you for the interview.

Government Spokesman Holds Press Conference

AU1007171788 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Jul 88 pp 1, 5

[Correspondents' report: "Council of Ministers Holds Meeting—Greater Flexibility in Issuing Passports—Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute Established—Limitations on Dividends Paid on Shares—Local Councils Work Order Modified—Government Spokesman Rezso Banyasz Holds Press Conference"—in Budapest on 1 July]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Hungarian Radio: According to an announcement made recently by one of the deputy finance ministers, the inflation rate will reach 17 or 18 percent this year, and not the planned 15 percent. What is your opinion? Is this the private position of the deputy finance minister or has the government position changed?

[Banyasz] The government clearly set the goal of keeping this year's inflation rate within the 15 percent mark and asked the enterprises and the population to help achieve this goal. I think—and the government has the same opinion—that it is too early to draw final conclusions on the incomplete data from the first half of the current year. Different figures are being circulated now in the country on the basis of various experts' opinions. There are people who draw final conclusions on the basis of the first few months of the year. I think we should give it more time. [passage omitted]

NEPSZABADSAG: There have been strict conditions regulating the issuance of passports for people with a criminal record. I heard that the government had dealt with this issue too. Has there been any change in this respect?

[Banyasz] It is true that the government discussed today whether it is necessary to submit proposals to the National Assembly about the modification of Law No. 25 of 1987 on passports and foreign travel.

Some 1.4 million Hungarian citizens applied for a so called world passport in the first 5 months of this year. Almost all the applications were treated favorably, and only 3,200 applications were rejected. Among these, there were about 1,000 people who were rejected because of their criminal record. Criminal records were considered only if the person had actually served a prison term or is waiting to start his prison term.

Considering the various cases, the government thinks there is no need to initiate the modification of the law at present. [passage omitted]

VASARNAPI HIREK: I heard that a government regulation would in the future determine the dividends to be paid on cooperative stocks. Why was this necessary?

[Banyasz] The government regulated this issue because the enterprises continue to pay out dividends on stocks on the basis of untaxed profits. [passage omitted]

Obviously, this practice would not be in the interests of the community, and that is the reason for the new government regulation in this matter. The new law on partnership, which is being prepared now, will create a new situation and then we will have other regulations to observe. [passage omitted]

Environmental Association on Bos-Nagymaros

AU1606120488 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Jun 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Hungarian, Czech, and Austrian Experts To Examine Water Barrage Issues—Position Taken by the Environmental Protection Association"]

[Text] The establishment of the Hungarian Environmental Protection Association at the end of April was a significant event for the domestic public movement which has existed for more than 1 and ½ decades. On its first session, the executive committee of the association adopted a policy statement and sent the text of it to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Environmental Protection Council of the Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations.

The statement reads as follows:

"To protect the Danube?

"A misleading error or a deliberate attempt to influence public opinion and deceive? What is the truth concerning the Bos-Nagymaros barrage scheme? Why are certain Hungarian groups abroad and their domestic supporters getting organized?

"What are the real social, professional, and economic problems concerning the barrage scheme? Will it be possible to maintain ecological control over the scheme, and what conditions are required for this?

"The association has agreed on the following: The 1979 PPF initiative for a detailed study of the environmental effects has only been completed with a considerable delay. The news blackout imposed while this initiative was being worked on was a mistake because it provided ground for amateur guesses and made it possible for the PPF expert suggestions to be misinterpreted. The study on the effects, the important details concerning the major modifications in the design of the project, and recent research results were only reported in limited professional circles, and this information could not reach the general public. Construction—particularly on the Czech side of the border—has meanwhile advanced so far that stopping it would mean unbearable economic (compensation) burdens for the country and cause a critical energy shortage at the end of the nineties.

"Stopping the construction of the barrage would force us to build new power plants, which can only be implemented through imports accounted in dollars. It would prevent Hungary from joining the integrated West European energy system and the Danube-Rhine-Main (between seas) international canal system. It would stimulate national minority contradictions between Hungary and its neighboring countries.

"At the same time, it will be necessary to carry out the investment projects to protect the environment. An operating system should be worked out, one which will primarily consider the ecological balance (with energy production a secondary consideration.)

"For all these reasons, we suggest that the Hungarian Academy of Sciences involve experts from the Czechoslovak and Austrian Academy of Sciences, and hold a working conference where it will be possible to clarify outstanding and disputed issues."

Berecz Addresses Journalists Association

LD1606162088 Budapest MTI in English 1452 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—The Thursday enlarged session of the board of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists discussed in Budapest timely questions related to the modernization of political, professional and interest representation. The board decided to work out the renewal theses and put them to debate among journalists.

The session was attended and addressed by Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee. In keeping with the policy statement of the party conference, he pointed out that the HSWP is urging the extension of social publicity, including concrete measures to ensure broad publicness for the work of leading party bodies. Janos Berecz stressed that in the future the party intends to increase its leverage in the press through principal guidance, the communists working in the editorial offices. He expressed agreement with the proposals put forth at the broad session towards increasing the social influence of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists and the financial-moral recognition of journalists.

Gorbachev Continues Official Friendly Visit

Gorbachev Arrives at Sejm

LD1107143788 [Editorial Report] Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1330 GMT on 11 July begins live coverage of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the Polish Sejm in Warsaw. The announcers begin by reviewing Gorbachev's visit so far. At 1344 GMT the reporter at the Sejm building describes the scene there and talks about Soviet-Polish friendship. The reporter says that Gorbachev's talks at the PZPR Central Committee took longer than planned and that is why Gorbachev will be late.

At 1400 GMT the reporter describes Gorbachev's car arriving at the Sejm, Gorbachev and wife entering and being met by Sejm Speaker Malinowski and Mrs Malinowski, who gives flowers to Raisa.

At 1404 GMT, the reporter describes the scene as amid applause Malinowski, Gorbachev, Wojciech Jaruzelski, and Eduard Shevardnadze enter the hall.

At 1404 GMT Roman Malinowski takes the floor and opens the Sejm session, welcoming Gorbachev. He invites Gorbachev to speak. At 1410 GMT Gorbachev begins speaking. At 1453 GMT Gorbachev concludes his address and after being introduced by Roman Malinowski, Wojciech Jaruzelski begins sepaking at 1455 GMT.

At 1547 GMT Malinowski takes the floor. He thanks Gorbachev for his speech and conveys greetings from the Polish people. He states that the Sejm Presidium has decided to award a medal to Gorbachev for his outstanding contribution to the development of international cooperation.

Malinowski finishes speaking at 1553 GMT and the Sejm session is adjourned until 0700 GMT on 12 July.

At 1555 GMT a group of 50 deputies gathers in the Column Hall—Gorbachev and Jaruzelski are to go there to meet them. A small exhibition has been organized there. Members of the Sejm Presidium are gathered there and Gorbachev is to be presented with a medal.

At 1605 GMT Gorbachev presents the Sejm with a picture. Gorbachev is then shown at the exhibition in the Column Hall. The exhibition comprises various historical documents. Guests are surrounded by Sejm deputies and reporters.

At 1610 GMT Gorbachev leaves the Column Hall. Malinowski bids Gorbachev goodbye outside the Sejm building.

Malinowski Greeting at Sejm

LD1107153588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1404 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Greetings speech by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski to visiting CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, at the Sejm building on 11 July—live]

[Text] I open the ceremonial meeting of the Sejm.

Citizens deputies, in the name of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, I sincerely and warmly greet the eminent guests, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, his esteemed wife, and persons accompanying them. [applause]

In your person, greatly esteemed Comrade General Secretary, the Sejm greets the leader of the great, friendly country; the creator of significant political, economic, and social reforms in the Soviet Union; and the initiator of new thinking and activity in shaping international relations based on peaceful cooperation and mutual trust among states and nations. You have come to us shortly after the end of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which was an extraordinarily important political event—not just for the Soviet Union, but for all the socialist countries and for socialism as a sociopolitical formation. It was also extraordinarily important for qualitative, positive changes in the development of the international situation.

We are active along the same line. In Poland, for several years we have given highest priority to the implementation of a policy of socialist renewal, linking the universal principles of socialism with our national traditions, experiences, and aspirations. The successes of your work of reconstruction also signify support for the processes taking place in our country, which we treat as our Polish input into the practice and theory of socialism. We share your point of view, that there is no alternative to reconstruction. We must open socialism to the great possibilities that are brought by contemporary science and technology and, relative to that, reconstruct, widen, and deepen our model of socialist democracy. Man is at the center of our concerns—his living conditions, his creative development and his rights and civic freedoms. As Wojciech Jaruzelski said, we want socialist collectivism to be enriched by socialist personalism.

Esteemed Comrade General Secretary, the line of the 27th CPSU linked so closely with your thought and confirmed and creatively developed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, is by now not only the achievement of the Soviet nations, it is a significant input of your great party into the process of the contemporary shaping of the universal values of socialism and the preparation for the calls of the present and the future.

The great deed you have undertaken has awakened great interest and appreciation in Polish society. From the bottom of our hearts we wish the party of Lenin, the fraternal Soviet people, success in implementing reconstruction and restoring to socialism full humanist values. From our Polish point of view, the Soviet Union's present course of domestic and foreign policy constitutes even more—in the current cycle of your reconstruction, and openness, and acceleration, and in Polish renewal of socialism, there is the chance for a gradual enrichment in our relations so that friendship, that noble metal in our cooperation, and mutual respect can be seen.

I am convinced that your present visit to Poland will further consolidate in both our societies the will for even closer cooperation and mutual support in crucial transformations, which are taking place in our countries.

Comrade General Secretary, Poland's supreme reason of state is striving toward the consolidation of lasting and just peace. From this parliamentary rostrum, from which Polish deputies confirm the sovereign will of the Polish people, determination for peace, friendship between nations, and international cooperation have often been expressed.

We greatly value your acceptance of our invitation—you, the initiator of new thinking—to appear in the parliament of the republic, which is proud of its 5-century tradition. We stress with pride that your visit here takes place on the first day of your official friendship visit to Poland.

I invite CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to take the rostrum. [applause]

Gorbachev Sejm Speech, Other Activities

For reportage on CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival in Warsaw, the text of his speech to the Polish Sejm, his speech at the dinner on 11 July, his television interview on the visit to Poland, and Soviet accounts of his activities during his visit to Poland, see the West Europe section of the 11 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Jaruzelski Address to Sejm

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[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at meeting of the Polish Sejm in Warsaw on 11 July—live]

[Text] Citizen Speaker, may it please the house: Soon, now, our nation will be celebrating the 44th anniversary of the creation of People's Poland. On the eve of the [22] July holiday, we always return in our thoughts to the events that made possible for the second time in this century the reconstruction of independent statehood that brought Poland a great historical advance, and assured 4 decades of the peace so rare in our hisory. Today there is a particular occasion to remember this.

Dear Comrade Gorbachev, dear Soviet comrades and friends, in greeting you so warmly the Sejm is, as it were, putting the seal of the Rzeczpospolita [historical name for Polish state entity] on the historically verified treaty of brotherhood with our great neighbor. We listened to your speech with great attention and we have been impressed by it. We note the sincere words directed to our nation. We have already hosted the leaders of the Soviet Union in Poland several times. The subject and style of the speeches on each occasion bore the signs of the times. Their essence, however, was unchanging, as our alliance and good-neighborly friendship are lasting values. Still, gathered in this hall, and as I judge all Poles, we feel that your visit is accompanied by an exceptional atmosphere, a completely new spirit. [applause]

The generally noticeable increase in interest and the friendly feeling of our community toward the Soviet Union arise from at least four main sources, each one connected with the strategy of reconstruction mapped out by the CPSU, with new thinking, and with your personal activity. The first is full respect for the independence of all parties, and the sovereign equality of socialist states. Mutual understanding and trust, and genuine partnership, have become entrenched in recent years. For the Polish people, made particularly sensitive by history to their dignity and independence, this is of priceless value.

Second, the image of the Soviet Union which is changing in the eyes of Poles. The Soviet Union, implementing the policy of reconstruction, appears as a dynamic country, daring in thinking and action, more fully directed toward man, toward general humanist ideals which have become fashionable in Poland and in the world.

Third, courage and an uncompromising attitude in drawing conclusions from a critical assessment of the past. The truth of the past is being disclosed in a way worthy of a great party and a heroic people.

Fourth, courage, far-reaching consideration, consistency, or even stubborness which give rise to general support and with which you strive to avert the threat of war, and to construct a new, secure, and peaceful world. [applause] All of this makes your present visit to Poland an important event of historical significance.

May it please the house: I do not wish to simplify the issue, but the countries of Eastern Europe have had a difficult inheritance. Let us take, for example, relations between Russia and Poland over the centuries. These have been complicated by the struggle of the ruling classes in both countries. Kings and tsars pitted Poles against Russians, and Russians against Poles. Wars, outrages, and invasions poisoned the souls of the people and created mutual dislike.

This, Mikhail Sergeyevich, is a quote from your book. I believe that every Pole and every Russian will agree with this assessment. [applause]

Today our two nations—with more discernment and more comprehensively—examine the heritage of their past. Two threads wend their way through this past: one of mistrust and enmity, because of which even today there are still relics of certain simplifications and stereotypes; the other of a closeness, a liking, and friendship. Even in the most difficult years of the partitions our nation could distinguish two Russias: the first, detested by the Poles but also by the progressive forces of your country, was represented by the tsars and the governors, the state officials and the gendarmes. But there was another Russia, a noble Russia, well-disposed toward the Poles, made up of Decembrists, revolutionary democrats, and Narodniks, for whom we felt friendship and esteem. It is about them that Adam Mickiewicz wrote in his memorable poem "To Our Muscovite Friends." One hundred years ago a young Russian, Aleksandr Ulyanov, and a young Pole, Bronislaw Pilsudski, took part in the attempt on the life of Tsar Aleksandr III. Many years went by before the revolutionary movements of Russia and Poland understood the pointlessness of the forlorn struggle of units against the tsarist autocracy; they called upon the proletariat, upon the peoples of towns and villages.

The younger brothers of those two fighters—Vladimir Ilich and Jozef Klemens—took a different path. In the end they took up positions against each other. This happened in history many a time. But it could also be otherwise. In 1863, while fighting in the ranks of the Polish insurgents, Andrzej Pociewnia fell, as did many other soldiers and officers of the tsar's army. Aleksandr Herzen supported the uprising in his fiery articles. A comrade of Ludwik Warynski, founder of the first Marxist party on Polish territory, was a Russian—Petr Bartowski. In 1905 the workers of both nations stood together on the same side of the barricades of Moscow and Lodz. Thousands of Poles participated in the Russian revolutionary movement and then went on to defend and to strengthen the achievements of October.

The vision of friendship and cooperation, based on the right of every nation to self-determination, has been victorious in the ideals and actions of Lenin. It was he who proclaimed the memorable thought: There can be no free Russia without an independent Poland. This found expression in the unconditional recognition of our right to independent state existence. So-called White Russia never wanted to accept this. Still in the 1920's, emigre tsarist generals devised their imperialist plans in relation to the land on the Vistula, in the cafes of Paris.

Contrary to the logic of history, our mutual relations continued down a blind alley after the October Revolution and the rebirth of the Polish state. Pretensions regarding the revival of Polish rule in the east were regressive and anachronistic. Hopes for the speedy triumph of revolutionary movements in the whole of Europe were premature and also without foundation. Mutual distrust was of no benefit to either of our countries when Hitlerite fascism extended a rapacious claw toward the east, and the east meant everything to it, from Poznan to Vladivostok.

The years 1939-41 were a difficult and tragic chapter. They left behind them on Soviet lands known and unknown Polish graves. We know that there were not only Polish graves. They are, as was written so beautifully in the columns of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, a place for the joint mourning of our nations.

The Stalinist repressions in relation to Poles, including that of Polish communists, weaved together with the great drama of the Soviet nations, and also the international workers' movement. Those who found themselves on the territory of the Soviet Union after the September defeat went through a great deal. Together with hundreds of thousands of my compatriots, I also passed along this route. We do not, however, need self-styled defenders. The continuing course of history gave, and continues ever more fully to testify to, the truth. But, above all, simple, good Soviet people, our brothers, comrades of fate and on the land, remain in our memory.

Of course, every crime, all human suffering, has a moral dimension. They cannot be deleted and must not be passed over in silence. Joint work by Polish and Soviet historians is in progress. We are counting on it, that they will enable us to know better the background, the course, and the nature of various historic events. Awareness also exists, however, of the wider balance, measured not only using the categories of individual facts, not in days and months, but in long-term, multilayered processes.

This balance is a positive one. And so it is not appropriate to fear full evaluations of the past. The Polish nation was saved from extermination. Today, all of us find ourselves in this hall only because the self-sacrificing Soviet nations, the heroic Soviet soldiers, made a decisive contribution to shattering the Hitlerite army. [applause]

They brought an end to genocide. From the Tatras to the Baltic, from the Bug to the Oder, there is spread a great Soviet war cemetary. There rest the soldiers-liberators, from Russian cities and Ukrainian farmsteads, from the Belorussian countryside and the Caucasian villages, from the Central Asian encampments, and from settlements lost in the Siberian taiga. They have remained among us, on this land, as an eternal testament. It is the pride of our nation that Poland, so terribly drained of blood, made a dignified and significant contribution to the armed struggle of the antifascist coalition. In the crusade against the USSR, the armies and divisions of several countries took part, but not one Polish armed formation found itself under German command. [applause]

The road of battle of our soldiers will always remain an unforgotten chapter of history. From the lonely September battles to coparticipation in the Berlin victory, the Polish People's Army, which this year celebrates the 45th anniversary of its foundation, honorably passed the test of history. Also fighting bravely with the common enemy were the soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces in the West and also the resistance movement in the occupied country: the People's Army, the Home Army, the peasant battalions, the partisans and the insurgents. This entire generation of veterans knows the price of victory, the value of peace, and the inviolability of borders. Irrespective then, of its fighting pedigree, it knows how to value the Polish-Soviet alliance. Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms—this patriotic premise has great social and moral significance. [applause]

May it please the house: In politics facts are what count above all, measurable realities. I said from the platform of the UN Organization that no sensible nation will forsake such an attainment as unfailing alliance, security, and the inviolability of a state's territory. That is why, in the most deeply understood Polish reason of state, there lie the development and success of the great socialist power, its strength and position in the world. At the same time a strong, indeed a socialist, Poland is an irreplacable friendly neighbor for the Soviet Union, for today and forever. [applause]

Economic cooperation is of essential importance, it is the material foundation of our relations. We will not forget Soviet aid during first post-war years, and recently when for other reasons we had exceptional difficulties. The Soviet union has been Poland's largest economic partner, but what is most important is that it is a stable partner, honest, ensuring permanency for mutual links. Their scope is becoming wider and wider as we approach the end of the century. At the same time we are aware of the existance of many possibilities which have not been used. We must transfer to more intensive and futuristic methods of cooperation. The reforms taking place in Poland and the Soviet Union make our economies pulsate in an increasingly concerted rhythm. The recent period has given us valuable experience in creating a new kind of economic bond.

Enterprise independence opens up new prospects. Mutual cooperation will develop not only as a result of central decisions between states, but also as a natural expression of needs, initiatives, and decisions by the work enterprises themselves. Already over 200 Polish economic units cooperate directly with Soviet partners. Although this is only the beginning, results are visible. But barriers and restraints can also be seen. First of all they are linked with the underdevelopment of financial mechanisms, and the deficiency of currency relations. Recent decisions concerning the initiation of accounting in national currencies, and a joint approach to make the exchange rate between the polish zloty and the Soviet ruble more realistic constitute a significant step in overcoming obstacles in direct cooperation between enterprises. Our common conviction is that we should eradicate everything that slows down or limits the development of mutually beneficial cooperation. There should be no problems put aside for better times; the better times have arrived!

We attach particular importance to scientific and technical cooperation. The bilateral comprehensive program up to the year 2000 is being implemented and more than 130 scientific and research centers are participating directly in it. At present we are preparing new and long-term agreements on production and exchange, specialization, and the division of labor, and we would like even more strongly to rely on the top achievements of science and technology. Electronics and automation, biotechnology and biocybernetics, modern equipment and high quality market goods—these are particularly important long-term fields of cooperation between our countries.

Polish-Soviet cooperation should be the achievement of millions of people, that is how we have formulated it in the joint April statement. It has given a strong impetus, but so far it has only opened the door half way. Let us open it wide, courageously.

Prominent polish writer Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz wrote: The space between our culture and the culture of our neighbors is a meeting place, and we can say that cultures link up on their borders and cooperate in the creation of a common European culture. In this respect, the post-war period—regardless of temporary restraints—has brought about an essential breakthrough. The treasures of Russian literature, and that of other nations, the creation of outstanding writers and the art of Soviet artists, are well known in Polish homes. We are glad that in your country as well Polish literature and theater, music and film, and the visual arts are enjoying popularity.

Proof of this are the many translations, productions, prizes, and awards. Contacts between schools and higher education establishments are expanding, although at a slower pace. A growing number of academics of both countries are establishing cooperation. We want to go further and more boldly along this road, to increase the numbers, to give mutual ties a new texture and quality. The more social and professional groups, towns and villages, and workforces of enterprises get to know each other, the closer our nations will become. In a word, we want the message of friendship to penetrate ever deeper to all circles of our societies, particularly to the young generations. I am certain that your visit will release new creative initiatives in this respect.

I also wish to express satisfaction with the recently taken decisions concerning Poles living in the Soviet Union as well as the increased care for Polish cultural relics, the traces of our mutual history preserved on Soviet soil. [applause]

Comrade Deputies, dear Soviet comrades and friends, our nations are building socialism in different historically shaped conditions. Never before, however, have we been so close to each other. Today we understand each other exceptionally well in fundamental matters which are decisive for the future. This is perestroyka in the Soviet Union and socialist renewal in Poland. Until recently, here at home, various dogmatic and conservative guardians of the sacred fire have made accusations against the renewal, and falsely criticized it both inside and outside the country. They lost the ground from under their feet when your party adopted the great renewal program. It clearly defined new horizons. The 19th all-union conference forcibly confirmed and deepened this bold and innovative course. We can see a convergence in the directions of our quest, in the process of moving from the old to the new model of socialist contruction, in the assessments and intentions of the CPSU. It is always easier to move together.

The revolutionary and leading spirit, the striving for change regarding outdated solutions, flow from the very essence of our ideology. The transformations taking place at the moment are, therefore, expressions of historical law. Just as human history cannot be reversed to before 1917 or before 1945, there is no turning back from the current development stage of our information to the years of stagnation, ossification, and superficiality. [applause]

Renewal and perestroyka are not a single act, but a dialectical and continuous process. Both of our parties know that it is not progressing easily. It transpires from Polish experiences that in the first stage, doctrinal resistance, ideological slogans, and often understandable disquiet in relation to changes in long-held rules and sign-posts, had above all to be overcome. Later, mental laziness, passive resistance, fear of infringing individual, group, branch, and regional interests often disguised by pseudoreformist phraseology, became more perceptible. This is simply a difficult and often fierce battle between the new and old, the communal and the particular. The economy faces a particular challenge. It may be said that it was easier to achieve industrialization in a backward country than to mobilize intensive development factors in later stages.

It has turned out to be easier to facilitate social advancement and the achievement of higher professional qualifications for the masses than to make use of this great potential in order to modernize the economy and to ensure that it can compete in world markets. The economic system which has made possible this great step forward in civilization became a brake when it was time to climb to a higher level of management.

The first stage of our reform—despite an extraordinary piling up of difficulties, among them restrictions such as had never been seen before—contributed to our getting out of the crisis and set in motion the process of development. The rate of progress of change was, however, too slow. Not all the positive tendencies turned out to be lasting. Hence the concept of the second phase of the reform, put forward at the 10th party congress, a concept which was then developed into a broad program of action. Its aim is the swifter and more effective introduction of new principles of management, an increase of efficiency, a restructuring of industry. The unusual difficulties are largely the result of an insufficient (?supply) of raw and other materials and hard currency.

But there is also resistance which comes from conservative tendencies, from not being capable of acting in a new way—both in enterprises and in the organs which direct the economy.

We are not overcoming inflation; there are market difficulties. The seventh plenum worked out the essential conclusions. The most important of these concerns the more consistent and more decisive introduction of a new logic of management. Within the 3 years this should bring a basic improvement.

There is a close correlation between the success of the economic reform and the development of socialist democracy. For what matters most is to ensure that people have work, that every citizen has the feeling—I would say the certainty—that he is a comanager in his own enterprise, in his own village, in his town, and his own country. Democracy must be practiced consistently and without respite; it must be utilized more fully and better. It is a marvelous instrument which, however, like all instruments remains mute if man is not capable of drawing sounds from it. At the same time the effectiveness of democracy is visible only when it is paired with discipline in the implementation of agreed resolutions, with the persistent turning of good decisions into even better facts. All is not well in this aspect. It is easier to make use of somebody else's work than to fulfill one's own duties, easier to change laws than people's habits. But the hardest of all is to break down bureaucratic blockades, to tear down the web of entwined interests, agreements, and regulations.

Lenin condemned bureaucratism and inflated hierarchism as a particularly harmful and dangerous tumor—almost a caricature of the revolutionary, socialist ideal.

Thus a decisive overcoming of these formations is not a tactical fashion, not one arising from the needs of the moment, but an objective necessity. It is easier said than done. Declarations, decisions, various kinds of antibureaucratic activities, do not as yet bring the awaited effects. Everyone is against, and the sickness continues. This is like shadow-boxing. The main opportunity in this struggle is given by the universal development of socialist democracy. We have basically developed its system over the last few years. This is not of course a rigid structure given once and for all. It must be and will be developed, strengthened, and supplemented with new elements. Stabilization and social calm in the country will allow us to go significantly further along this road.

The representative bodies have a special role. The decided growth in the position and prestige of the highest state body, the Sejm of the PPR especially, is a great achievement. People's power is, in essence, the power of the councils. For whole decades, however, the councils were deprived of many attributes of genuine authority. We are counting on the fact that the new people's councils, chosen according to a modified electoral ordnance, equipped with significantly increased rights and resources, will be a strong power, exercising genuine superiority over the executive bodies. The Polish state must be strong, efficient, just, and respected by citizens, and it must also respect their dignity and views. [applause]

There is no democracy without the rule of law. We have strengthened the structures assuring adherance to the law, both for the authorities and for all citizens. We already have considerable, original achievements. A tribunal of state has been appointed; a constitutional tribunal is functioning; there are a supreme administrative court and a civil rights ombudsman. Conceptual work has started on a new constitution of the PPR, in which the transformations taking place in our country should find full expression. The coalition formula for the exercise of power assumes a deeper significance. Its heart is the alliance of the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD that has survived difficult trials and has been tried at the hardest moments. It also includes cooperation with the associations of Christians and lay Catholics. In this process the trade union movement, youth and social organizations, various circles, and citizens active in PRON take part.

The coalition formula is and will be extended, which should be reflected in future elections to the Sejm, including maybe also the setting up of another SEJM chamber. The Consultative Council attached to the chairman of the Council of State plays a special role which is growing in importance. Citizens' councils in voivodships are active. New associations, political clubs, and youth parliaments are being and will be formed. There is and will be further developed a system of various advisory bodies, social opinion research, consultations and referendums. All this adds up to a model of socialist pluralism which shapes and gives direction to political culture and makes it possible to present views, reach agreement, and take into account aspirations of various social groups and circles, emphasizing their independence and a specific kind of oppositionism. The aim—to put it graphically—is to attract in a focus of patriotic activity all dispersed rays of social energy. We want the proreform coalition which is taking shape of responsible, patriotic forces of the nation to serve well the future of our homeland. [applause]

The socialist state's relations with the Roman Catholic Church are of special significance in Poland. In recent years tangible progress has been made. General outlines of some sort of historic compromise, which could become our contribution to the new thinking in this area as well, are being seen. We said a long time ago—and we stick to it unchanged—that we do not ask anyone where he comes from, we do not ask what he believes in, what symbols from the nation's past he regards as his own, we do not ask in front of whose monument he bows his head. There is only one thing we inquire about and will continue to ask: What are you doing and what do you want to do that would be useful for Poland? We do not act in a political void. When two people say the same thing, it does not always mean the same thing. We are implementing reforms intended to consolidate socialism, but there are others who would like to reform it in a way that would make it cease to be socialism. This is not and cannot be subject to bargaining, nor can it be a platform for accord.

May it please the house: Esteemed comrades and citizens, this solemn moment makes one present a balance of achievements of socialist Poland, the result of many long years of work by the working class and the whole nation. The achievements made have a historic dimension that cannot be undermined. They constitute a solid foundation for further development. However, one should also speak of what is painful and what is a burden to society, what makes everyday problems more acute and contradicts socialist humanism.

History never forgives errors. It does not allow the neglect of the laws of economics to go unpunished, but also assigns blame for poor hearing, for undermining the social mood, the truth, and we want to hear the truth from it, even if it is unpleasant. There is a wider view from above, but the view from below is more precise. The road to socialist renewal was laid out by the ninth extraordinary congress. We undertook the reform work in a dramatically difficult time, like refitting a ship during a severe storm. This influenced the course and the results of changes made up to now.

Today, too, we do not act in easy internal and external conditions. We have not, however, deviated from this road for even a moment. The policy of reforms, accord, and openness is permanent, despite all the continuous antagonisms. This is a completely different, fundamentally changed Poland. Everyone who honestly, without bias, assesses the course and results of the last 7 years will admit this.

However, like all societies, we have a feeling of unfulfillment. The state of affairs in our fatherland is not yet as we would desire, as it should be. Speaking figuratively, we plowed a little too slowly and a little too shallowly. There were and are many reasons—objective and subjective. This is neither the time nor place to assess them in detail. The development of the situation has brought forth many, not infrequently sharp and critical, questions, demanding clear and socially credible answers. They were brought by the last, seventh plenum. It identified the most important tasks today, in accordance with the resolutions of the 10th congress: the acceleration and deepening of the transformations in all areas. We will take ourselves thoroughly to task for their implementation—before the workers, before the nation.

The greatest and decisive responsibility for the success of the renewal policy, for the implementation of reforms, for the future of the country, rests on the PZPR. The party's role in the transformations will be just like its role in the party transformations. We are thus moving in a new direction in the practice of the directing, leading, and serving role. This will be seen in changes in the principles of cadre policy, a clearer specification of functions in relation to state bodies, and in administration and economic matters. All this demands a creative attitude to Marxist-Leninism, intellectual far-sightedness, boldness of thought, and effectiveness in activity. The party can and should come to the national delegates conference next spring with concrete achievements, with heads held high.

Citizen Speaker, may it please the house: Divisions, disputes, and conflicts have been an inseparable part of history. It is difficult to expect that one day they will completely disappear. Modern civilization has, however, created for mankind challenges of a previously unknown scale. Among them, apart from military threats, the ecological state of Europe and of our entire planet is the subject of universal concern. Thousands of kilometers divide Sverdlovsk from Lisbon, but air and water do not recognize state borders or differences in political systems. The biological unity of humankind, of all countries, and all nations is becoming more and more clear. The need for great joint measures to protect the natural environment is urgent. The transformation of the philosophy of animosity into the philosophy of interdependence is a great demand of our times. This is a superior, timeless, and supranational matter in the interest of survival and preservation. Objective reasons make the two systems cooperate today, and in the future they will make them cooperate even more strongly, on a global scale.

In recent years the historic mission of socialism in the building of a better and lastingly secure world has taken on a new meaning. The important proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union and your unending energy, Mikhail Sergeyevich, have produced valuable results. A new, more favorable phase is opening for East-West relations. This does not please everyone. Lonely advocates of notions such as the evil empire want to use Satan to get rid of the Devil. They aim at nonnuclear forms of disarmament. This is particularly dangerous on our small continent, especially in central Europe. A test of the partner's honesty is, as always, his compliance with agreements and his respect for obligations which have been accepted, in particular obligations such as the CSCE Final Act. This matter is worthy of particular attention in light of experiences which have been gathered since 1975. For example, a justified question arises here: Why do the Western signatories keep silent and negate in practice the decisions contained in the so-called second basket, concerning the creation of an all-European transportation and power network, the lifting of trade barriers, the flow of scientific and technological achievements, and cooperation in health care and the protection of natural environment? The foundation of the Helsinki agreement is and must be acceptance of the post-war territorial and political order. This is binding for all signatories without exception. Thus, the argument about the alleged existence of the German Reich in its borders of 1937 is not acceptable.

To refer even today to the legacy of the criminal Hitlerite state is politically nonsensical and morally repulsive. Sometimes people attribute to the Poles an excessive sensitivity when it comes to matters relating to the Germans. This is a simplistic assessment. On the other hand, and for very good reason, we are sensitive to all that could—today or tomorrow—threaten our national interest and also the peace in Europe. [applause]

We are not enemies of all things German. That nation, living for centuries within various and occasionally warring state organisms, has contributed precious values to civilization, to science, and to culture; it was the cradle of the working-class movement and one of the pioneers of modern technology. Our common history has been a long-standing struggle against German pressure and aggression, but it has also been made up of good examples of mutual interaction in economic and cultural matters. This is clearly confirmed and thoroughly developed by the alliance and by the sincere friendship between us and the GDR, by our close union and multilateral cooperation with the German state of workers and peasants.

To the west of the Elbe there are also forces and groups which are led by realism and intent on agreement. We do not wish to trade in history. We define our stand rationally: We are ready to develop a constructive dialogue. But there is one thing we shall never give up: the matter of Poland's basic interests, the inviolability of its borders, its indisputable [word indistinct]. [applause]

Peace and the security of Europe are traditionally the sphere of the greatest activity in Polish foreign policy. In past decades this was reflected in many of our proposals and initiatives. The latest of these is a comprehensive plan for the reduction of arms and the increase of confidence in central Europe. It is concurrent with the line of peaceful offensive of the USSR and other socialist countries.

Our plan also agrees with the proposal put forward today from this platform and worthy of full support regarding the creation of a center for reducing the danger of war and preventing any sudden attack in europe. Poland is ready to begin, immediately, to hold consultations on the concept of this center, offering—if the interested states should agree to this—a site for it on our territory.

We have also heard with great interest the proposal for a pan-European meeting of state and government heads. We consider this initiative to be particularly valuable and we are glad that it was first heard in our country's capital. Our continent, tormented by wars and so often oppressed by mutual enmity, could even become a model of multilateral cooperation, a home which would be peaceful and safe for all. This is in the interest of all Europeans. It is possible, it is realistic. We stand on the steadfast unity of fraternal socialist countries. The criticisms, the attempts by the West to treat certain countries of the alliance selectively—that is a policy which has no future.

The systemic, ideological and political, economic and defensive link is the only lasting foundation for security and cooperation. The natural diversity of internal solutions is not a denial of our unity but its enrichment. At the same time, ties of civilization and culture between Poland and West Europe were shaped over centuries. The fact that our country lies at the great crossroads of Europe was for centuries one of the sources of our misfortunes. Today, it is still an unexploited opportunity. A stable and favorably developing state in the heart of Europe could contribute fruitfully to rapprochement and cooperation between East and West.

It is not possible to accept that Poland, so advanced in the work of renewal, reform, and democratization, so open to the world, was and continues to remain the favorite object of various forms of interference and discrimination. It is high time that this absurd situation, which has done so much harm to our nation, is finally eliminated.

That is why we attach so much more importance to the development of integration and the consolidation of the international socialist division of labor. Despite the achievements, not all the available possibilities in this sphere are yet fully exploited. It is necessary to expand the era and to place the methods of cooperation on new tracks. A good starting point for this is the many-sided concept of international socialist division of labor for the years 1991-2005 which was adopted several days ago at the 45th meeting of the CEMA in Prague.

We fully share the position of the Soviet Union as regards the opening of the road to a common socialist market. Reforming the principles of price-setting and an exchange rate for currency convertibility are indispensible conditions for the basing of multisided cooperation on healthy and economic foundations. The establishment of relations between the CEMA and the EEC is a step in this direction. It will bring the required results insofar as the socialist countries are capable of achieving a new and higher level of integration.

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev, on the day on which your official visit of friendship begins we look, above all, to the approaching decades. The alliance with a great power, which is taking on such momentum, has entered the wide road of acceleration. For Poland, this is a historic opportunity. There is no area of life in which our cooperation would not have great and long-term significance. Our system bitterly experienced the consequences of the cult of personality. Never again will we tie the fortunes of socialism with one, even if the most exceptional, person. There are, however, periods in which the individuality of a leader, his activity, his boldness, and his determination seizes the interest of millions of people. Allow me, from this rostrum of the Polish parliament, to attach these words to you. We wish, dear Mikhail Sergeyevich, for you to acquire during this visit the firm certainty that the strategy of reconstruction and your activity have millions of sincere supporters and friends between the Bug and the Oder. [applause]

We most sincerely wish the fraternal Soviet nation and its Communist Party, and you personally, full achievement of the charted plans and aims. A flame grows from a spark. Let it light the way, give warmth and light to all the forces of peace and progress, in Europe and the world.

Malinowski Closing Speech to Sejm

LD1107211688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1547 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Closing speech by Speaker of the Sejm Roman Malinowski at meeting of the Sejm in Warsaw on 11 July—live; no video available]

[Text] I thank the comrade first secretary of the Central Committee for his speech. May it please the house. Fellow deputies, esteemed guests: We heard the important speeches by Mikhail Gorbachev, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and by Wojciech Jaruzelski, the PZPR Central Committee first secretary. The words spoken today by the leaders of the Soviet Union and Poland from the Polish Sejm have a special weight and dimension. They were addressed not only to us in this hall, but also to both our nations and to the world.

The Polish and Russian languages of these speeches resounded in harmony. Their common denominator is the will on both sides to maintain our friendship and cooperation at the deepest level of national interest and to intensify the taking of concrete steps to maintain peace, security, and cooperation on our continent and throughout the world. The speech by our guest constitutes an expression, one more confirmation of the irreversibility of the historic changes now taking place in the Soviet Union. I want to express thanks for the greetings and best wishes to the Sejm and the Polish nation. On behalf of the Sejm, may I convey to you, General Secretary, cordial greetings and best wishes, and through you to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet nation. [applause]

The speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, expresses the steadfast will to continue the policy of reform and activity to further peaceful coexistence between nations. It expresses the motivation of socialist Poland, its national dignity. It also contains high praise for your proposal to create a nuclear war threat reduction center to help prevent surprise attacks in Europe. And other important proposals presented here in the Sejm. I undoubtedly speak for all those here, all Polish society, which the Sejm most widely represents, when I say that your speech, Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich, and the deep thoughts and proposals contained in it match the feelings of my compatriots. Every Pole and Russian will agree with him, as Wojciech Jaruzelski said. [applause]

I think it would be no exaggeration to say that your universally known initiatives in the international arena open a new page in human history. Their goal is a peaceful future for all, especially for us, the inhabitants of old Europe—this being, after all, as you often emphasize, our mutual home. These are matters that are of unceasing interest to the Sejm. I hope that in this very place, where today we have the honor of hosting you, in the near future, on the Sejm's initiative and invitation, the leaders of the parliaments of Europe, the United States, and Canada, can do to remove barriers hindering general European cooperation. I hope we can overcome the divisions and that the threat of war can be removed forever, thrown on the garbage heap of history.

Fellow deputies, the speeches by our states' leaders have confirmed the liveliness of the Polish-Soviet alliance, the bilateral will to deepen contacts and joint action between our states and societies. I am very convinced that the historical visit, as Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed, by Mikhail Gorbachev will contribute to a fundamental enrichment of our friendship and cooperation and will serve to further improve the international climate. I want to tell the esteemed house that the Sejm Presidium has resolved to award Poland's medal of the Sejm to Mikhail Gorbachev, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, for his eminent contribution to developing and strengthening international cooperation, and furthering friendship and joint action between Poland and the USSR. [applause]

I am deeply convinced that the Sejm Presidium's decision was fully approved by the esteemed house, as expressed by the applause. I cordially invite our eminent guest to accept the medal granted to him as a commemoration of your visit to the Polish parliament. Greatly esteemed Comrade Gorbachev, greatly esteemed Jaruzelski: In the name of the deputies, I again thank you for accepting our invitation to speak from the Sejm rostrum. With this, we end today's deliberations. I decree a break until tomorrow, at 0900. [applause]

Gorbachev Visit to Sejm Exhibit

LD1107211788 Warsaw PAP in English 1658 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—In conclusion of his visit to the Polish parliament Mikhail Gorbachev saw an exhibition of the most precious documents connected with the nearly 500-year-old history of the Polish parliamentary system. He saw, among other things, the original text of the May 3, Constitution of 1971, as well as the original text of the July Manifesto of 1944.

Medal Presentation by Malinowski

LD1107211588 Warsaw PAP in English 1705 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski announced the adjournment of the session until tomorrow—Tuesday and Wednesday are the Sejm's normal parliamentary work days.

In the Column Room of the Sejm Gorbachev met with members of the Presidium, the seniors' caucus, and a group of deputies representing all the Sejm's caucuses and circles. The Sejm speaker presented the Soviet leader with a special medal of the Polish Sejm with the Polish National emblem and a Latin motto engraved on its averse [as received], which reads: "Populi et Rei Publicae Bonum Ultima Lex,"—"The Weal of the Nation and the Republic Is the Highest Law."

Olechowski, Shevardnadze Talks

LD1107200288 Warsaw PAP in English 1909 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski met here today with CPSU CC Political Bureau member, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The talk, proceeding in the atmosphere of friendship and full mutual understanding, concerned the most essential international problems and issues of cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union in the international arena, aimed at safeguarding security in Europe and worldwide, at consolidated confidence and cooperation among nations. The sides also reviewed certain current aspects of Polish-Soviet relations.

Tadeusz Olechowski pointed to the immense interest stirred in Poland by the 19th CPSU Conference and expressed the conviction that its decisions would help consolidate the process of detente and peaceful international cooperation, that they would make a significant, creative contribution to the policy of new thinking and to further development and deepening of Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation.

The ministers stated that the positive changes in the international situation—which became possible thanks to untiring efforts of socialist states with a view to real results in the field of nuclear disarmament and ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of medium and shorter range missiles—created favourable conditions for further progress in all activities conducive to the limitation of the arms race, including a reduced level of military confrontation on the European Continent.

Eduard Shevardnadze said that the Soviet side had welcomed with satisfaction the Polish Government's statement of June 14 this year, developing and precising [as received] Wojciech Jaruzelski's plan for decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe.

Tadeusz Olechowski thanked for the Soviet Union's active support for Poland's international initiatives. The Polish side highly assessed the Soviet Union's policy on the international forum, pursued in the spirit of new political thinking. It expressed full support and readiness for active participation in the implementation of the new proposal, presented by Mikhail Gorbachev, to set up a centre for decreasing the threat of war and preventing a sudden attack in Europe.

Poland and the Soviet Union are of the opinion that the necessary condition of a lasting peace and security, confidence and cooperation in Europe consisted in all countries strictly adhering to territorial and political realities shaped as a result of World War Two and postwar development. The ministers stressed that any attempts at violating the existing borders would be firmly repelled.

Gorbachev Television Interview

LD1107144988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1344 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Interview with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachevy by Warsaw television reporter Barbara Grad, in Warsaw on 11 July; in Russian with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] This, ladies and gentlemen, is an interview done especially for the television news.

[Barbara Grad] I wish to take this opportunity to ask you, sir, about your first impressions from meetings with inhabitants of our capital.

[Gorbachev] It was just a moment ago that I spoke about this with Comrade Jaruzelski and with other members of the Polish leadership. Form the first moment we noticed the very cordial attitude to us on the part of Warsaw people. I think that this is something more than standard courtesy and hospitality. I regard this as the result of the deep transformations taking place both at home and in Polish society. I would express it in this way: Our nations are coming out to meet each other. This is what I noticed (?looking) into the eyes of Warsaw people during conversations with them. I am deeply moved by this. I see this as a manifestation of those deep emotions which join our nations. [Words indistinct] tree which demands care and attention to develop well.

[Grad] Thank you, sir.

[Gorbachev] Let us, then, be good gardeners.

[Announcer] Barbara Grad was granted this interview literally minutes before the commencement of talks in private between Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski. At the same time, talks were also held today between Eduard Shevardnadze and Jozef Czyrek. And working meetings took place [words indistinct] several groups.

Gorbachev's First Impressions of Warsaw

LD1207031888 Warsaw PAP in English 1847 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—Asked by newsmen from Polish Television about his first impressions from meetings with residents of Warsaw, Mikhail Gorbachev stated:

"I just talked about this with General Jaruzelski and other members of the Polish leadership.

"From the very first moment we noticed a very cordial attitude towards us on the part of Warsaw residents.

"It seems to me that this is something more than ordinary good manners and hospitality. We deem this the effect of the deep transformations which are taking place both in our as well as your society.

"I would put it this way: Our nations are meeting each other halfway. And this is what i noticed during talks with Warsaw residents. I am deeply touched by this. I received this as a manifestation of the deep feelings which link our nations."

USSR's Gerasimov, Urban on Talks

LD1107205188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] The Soviet and Polish government press spokesmen [Gennadiy Gerasimov and Jerzy Urban] met with journalists in the Interpress press center for their first news conference. Before the news conference began they replied to questions from television news:

[Begin recording] [unidentified reporter in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] I realize that on the first day of the visit one cannot yet speak of any results, but what are your first impressions?

[Gerasimov in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] This is a marvelous beginning. The meeting of two friends, the creators of reconstruction, although in your country it is called socialist renewal. In general, it is felt that this visit is not so much a breakthrough, but more a raising of the level of our relations. Much is forecast on this subject. We will see how these things develop further.

[Reporter] One last question now. What do you regard as most important in these relations?

[Gerasimov] I judge that the most important is your completion of the process of socialist renewal and by us of reconstruction, which will allow us to progress further together.

[Reporter] And what are your impressions after this first [word indistinct] day of the visit?

[Urban] We decided to (?receive) our guest most sincerely. An enormous amount of information has come from across the whole country, that the visit (?arouses) exceptional interest, is received with extraordinary liveliness. Well, I talked with General Jaruzelski just after his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev. He was deeply impressed by the sincere atmosphere of his personal and friendly relations with the guest. Over and above that, well, he said that the agreement of views was so great that it is difficult to qualify it.

[Reporter] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Further on News Briefing 11 Jul

LD1207080988 Warsaw PAP in English 2151 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 11: On the first day of Mikhail Gorbachev's Polish visit, Polish-Soviet economic relations, Soviet disarmament proposals and experiences of Soviet perestroyka and Polish renewal constituted the leitmotifs of a press conference by the spokesmen for the two delegations, Gennadiy Gerasimov and Jerzy Urban. In the second part of the conference questions asked by Polish and foreign newsmen were answered by cochairmen of the Polish-Soviet mixed commission Georgiy Smirnov and Jarema Maciszewski.

At the start Urban said that the talks held by the Polish and Soviet leaders in a broader composition lasted for about one hour, and the face-to-face talk—more than one hour. The sides briefed each other on the situation in both countries, on accomplishments, difficulties, concepts of development. An absolute convergence of views was noted. So was the convergence of actions and transformations in both countries.

Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed great importance of the 19th CPSU Conference, going beyond the inter-Soviet framework and encompassing socialist states in particular, Poland included. This applies both to the content of debates and resolutions, and their style. While talking to Wojciech Jaruzelski, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the significance of search and experiences for changes and reforms sweeping the socialist world. The sides exchanged experiences connected with the political and economic sphere. They pointed to the accomplishments of Polish-Soviet cooperation, including those embracing more than one year of implementation of the joint declaration signed by the two leaders. It was stressed, though, that developmental needs are greater and that there still exist reserves enabling further development of cooperation. It will be concretized during further talks.

Urban said he was authorized to record the full convergence of assessments on the international situation. Wojciech Jaruzelski underscored the great significance of the policy associated with the name of Mikhail Gorbachev for the progress of detente, consolidation of peace and reduction of armaments, Urban went on.

The policy of perestroyka and glasnost strengthens and inspires Polish political and economic reforms. In a conversation Mikhail Gorbachev positively assessed the Polish contribution to the search for new solutions, to the contemporary development of socialism.

Relations between the leaders of the Soviet Union and Poland, Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski are marked by particular confidence, respect and friendship. The talks were held in a markedly cordial atmosphere. They will be continued.

The Polish spokesman said that Mikhail Gorbachev's visit arouses tremendous interest of all social circles in Poland. It is generally expected that the visit will serve the tightening of Polish-Soviet relations on all planes on the basis of the principles of sovereignty and mutual respect which is so strongly emphasized by Mikhail Gorbachev in relations between socialist countries.

There appear assessments and forecasts that the visit will contribute to the strengthening of Poland's position in the socialist community and more broadly on the international arena.

The Polish-Soviet relations are now entering a new stage, Gerasimov stressed in reply to one of the questions. Never in the past were they so open as today. Referring to Mikhail Gorbachev's words he said that in relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries paternalism was disappearing. These countries enjoy a full freedom of choice of their road of development and deciding about their internal affairs. [transmission interrupted; PAP parts 3-4 not received]

Asked whether the Soviet side was interested in using Polish experience in the functioning of such institutions as for instance the Tribunal of State, the Constitutional Tribunal or the ombudsman, Gerasimov said that works were under way in the Soviet Union on a reform of the legal system with a view to preventing, among other things, such abuses of the law which took place in the past. Also in this context account was being taken of Polish experience, he said.

One of the questions asked to both spokesmen concerned the Soviet leader's possible meetings with representatives of milieus grouped around the Catholic Church in Poland and with members of the former "Solidarnosc" [Solidarity]. Gerasimov noted that already on the first day of the visit the Soviet leader had talked to many people without trying to find out what circles they came from. Urban did not rule out the Soviet leader's possibly meeting representatives of the Church hierarchy. He added that such an opportunity would emerge while in Krakow during Gorbachev's visit to St Mary's Church, to be hosted by one of the bishops.

Western newsmen were also interested in the explanation of difficult problems concerning the history of Polish-Soviet relations. Gerasimov recalled that those questions had been raised by both leaders in their Sejm addresses. He pointed at the same time to progressing works by the Polish-Soviet mixed commission of historians which was busy filling in the so-called blank spots.

The works by the commission in question were characterized by Academic Smirnov and Professor Maciszewski. Both pointed out that these were very complex and difficult questions whose examination and explanation required time and meticulous study of sources. For example, the commission was about to complete the explanation of the dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland KPP and the ensuing reprisals against Polish Communists. Works are also advanced on the circumstances of deportation of Polish population in the Soviet Union in the years 1939-1941. The commission is thoroughly examining archival materials connected with the explanation of the Katyn crime that Polish society is so vitally interested in.

News Conference on Jaruzelski Plan

LD1107161888 Warsaw PAP in English 1520 GMT 11 Jul 88

[By Stanislaw Filipczak and Jerzy Redlich]

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—At the press centre for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit Dr Adam Rotfeld of the Polish Institute of International Affairs today presented new elements of the international situation and of the Polish-Soviet relations.

He drew attention to the significant humanization and "demilitarization" of contemporary diplomacy as well as to the process of abandoning voluntarism in international relations in favour of consultations. In the present-day politics diplomatic actions seem to precede events rather than to be a reaction to these events, Rotfeld said. A tendency also becomes ever more visible to reduce the cost of political security, and, hence, to build confidence measures. Both in Soviet and Polish foreign policy emphasis is laid on partnership in talks and not on contradictions.

Presenting both the early and expanded version of Jaruzelski Plan Rotfeld stressed that it remained in the general trend of disarmament proposals of socialist states. The plan's expanded version takes into account the results of consultations with Western states, he added.

Asked to compare the Jaruzelski and Jakes Plans, Rotfeld said that the Polish plan was concerned with the military sphere exclusively, while the Czechoslovak plan also covered non-military elements, including the economic ones.

Adam Rotfeld, who participated in bilateral consultations with individual Western states, expressed an opinion that a re-evaluation of the theory of deterrence is taking place in these countries which may result in a more flexible approach of these states to the question of liquidation of tactical nuclear arms.

News Conference Query on Katyn Issue

LD1107230188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] At a press conference today [at the Warsaw press center] Jan Grzelzk, chairman and director of the Interpress agency presented some of the guests present.

[Begin Grzelak recording] In accordance with an earlier announcement, the guests of the press center are the cochairmen of the Polish-Soviet commission of party historians for the study of the so-called blank spots, Prof Smirnov, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee, and Prof Maciszewski, rector of the Social Sciences Academy of the PZPR Central Commission. [end recording]

Prof Smirnov was asked why Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking about Polish-Soviet relations, did not address the Katyn drama.

[Begin Smirnov recording in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] It would be better to ask the general secretary of our party about this. We can assume that he deemed this among the particularly difficult issues striking the most sensitive chords of our souls and one of the dramatic aspects of our history that require attentive and longer consideration. [end recording]

Prof Maciszewski clarified why the commission concerned itself with the study of history from several dozen years ago and omitted the year 1968.

[Begin recording] [Maciszewski] Above all, I want to stress that the chronological range of Polish-Russian, Polish-Ukrainian, Polish-Belorussian, and Polish-Lithuanian relations and so forth is exceptionally wide. We accepted the guideline that in the first phase of the commission's work we are including in our activity the period 1917-45. That was first, and second the year 1968 relates to Polish-Czechoslovak relations or Soviet-Czechoslovak ones, and consequently we agreed that it should not be the subject of our commission's deliberations. If the need arises, then of course there is no issue that could not be discussed by our commission.

[Smirnov in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] The set of matters with which the commission is concerning itself is not coincidental. There were proposals that we concern ourselves with an enormous number of topics, but those we accepted for analysis—that is, the 1920 war, the (?dissolution) of the Polish Communist Party [KPP], the year 1939—are, however, the facts with which we should concern ourselves in the first instance. In 6 months to 1 year we will be able to present you with exhaustive details—for instance, relating to the KPP. We have had access to interesting documents that we could not examine before. [end recording]

Gorbacheva's Stop at Design Institute

LD1107234388 Warsaw PAP in English 1918 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—Raisa Gorbacheva, accompanied by Barbara Jaruzelska, visited the Warsaw Institute of Industrial Design today.

The wives of Polish and Soviet leaders toured an exhibition titled "Aesthetic Education of Children and Youth," featuring modern school equipment for drawing-lessons in kindergartens and schools.

Raisa Gorbacheva was interested in a programme of drawing lessons with the use of computer technique. Author of the programme Andrzej Pagowski presented Raisa Gorbacheva and Barbara Jaruzelska with computer etchings of his own design.

Both ladies also saw an exhibition of silver jewellery designed by Polish artists and a collection of artistic pieces made of glass made in Polish glass-works.

Thanking for the reception, Raisa Gorbacheva said among other things: "Our reconstruction deals first of all with the welfare policy and the improvement of society's day-to-day life. That is why activities of your institute and seimilar institutions in the Soviet Union are so important. What you are doing is needed by all of us."

Before the visit in the institute as well as after it, Raisa Gorbacheva mingled with people who greeted her, shaking streched out hands, wishing success on the road of renewal in Poland and thanking them for wishes for the victory of "perestroyka" in the Soviet Union.

Jaruzelski's Dinner Speech

LD1107211288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1902 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Toast by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the dinner in honor of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and his wife, Raisa, in the Hall of Columns of the Council of Ministers Office in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, esteemed Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva, dear Soviet comrades and friends: Close neighbors and unfailing friends are always greeted sincerely, but there are guests whose presence brings very great joy. Let me, then, once more wish you the best in the capital of Poland, heroic Warsaw. Your first foreign visit after the Moscow summit and also the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference awakens particular feelings in Poland. We host you as an eminent statesman, the leader of a fraternal party, but above all as a friend who brings with him the fraternal message of the party of Lenin and the great Soviet nation.

We listened today with great satisfaction to your words directed to our nation and our party. You firmly and clearly confirmed the permanence of the ties that link us. They constitute the guarantee of security and territorial integrity of socialist Poland, our greatest national attainment. We receive this as a ceremonial renewal and strengthening of the close, allied relations of the USSR and the PPR. The last 3 years have brought them a new and radically better quality. Today's talks once again confirmed the full mutual understanding and essential unity of our objectives and aspirations. Polish-Soviet cooperation is being consolidated in a form worthy of our times.

Your tour of Poland is to begin in Krakow. From the spires of the old church, for 7 centuries, every ½ hour a bugle call has resounded four times, as many as there are corners of the world. In the past hostile invasions from each have descended on Poland. For us, this traditional symbol is a constant reminder.

You will also visit Szczecin, our northwestern gate to the world, the capital of western Pomorze, the land in which almost every stone speaks of Polish and Soviet blood shed for the common cause.

The Poland of the late eighties is a country of many complicated problems. So we do not wish to embellish the true picture of our fatherland. The duty of the party is not painting facades but it is first of all openness, sincerity, and work. We will not hide our cares and concerns, of which we have plenty, but we will also show with pride the people's historical achievements and the landmarks achievements of People's Poland. We will also acquaint you with the daring model solutions initiated by the party. These and the unfailing patriotism of the working people are our main prospect and hope.

The strategy of the Soviet restructuring has been exerting a rejuvenating influence on the state of international relations. It has increasingly influenced the correlation of forces on a global scale. The Washington agreement and particularly the Moscow summit meeting yielded a priceless result: a perceptible improvement in the international climate and realistic hope for a future without the threat of war and without the disgrace to the entire human race, the arms race.

The world is beginning to understand that the alternative to the new thinking is only the old thinking, its hackneyed formulas, and stereotypes. Unprecedented challenges facing the human race inspire cooperation in all spheres.

Our small planet revolves in only one direction. There is still a long way to go until the international situation is permanently healed, the irreversibility of the process of disarmament and detente is ensured, and the system of universal security is realized. Therefore, there is need for tireless activity and a principled policy which is flexible and ensures a sufficient level of defense capability. We will discuss this in a wider forum during the coming meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. The results of your visit to Poland will undoubtedly also be reflected in the conduct of the meeting of this highest allied forum.

Dear Soviet guests, a good beginning is halfway to success. Your visit to Poland began under a good sign. We expect its political, economic, social, and party results to become a permanent entry in the book of Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation. It is our warm wish for you to leave Poland not only with good impressions but also with a solid certainty that always and everywhere, today and tomorrow, in success and in difficulties, your Polish friend and ally will unfailingly and honestly stay with you.

Allow me, Mikhail Sergeyevich, to observe the new custom of our guests: I propose a friendly toast with the romantic [as heard] juice of Polish berries. In the presence of Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze this really is a hopeless task, as any Georgian [tamada] would undoubtedly do it better.

I will therefore put it simply. To the sincere friendship of the PPR and the USSR! To the fraternity of our nations! To the close cooperation of our Marxist-Leninist parties! To their internationalist unity and unity of goals! To your health, dear Raisa Maksimovna and Mikhail Sergeyevich! To the success of all the Soviet comrades and friends present here! To the victory of perestroyka and socialist renewal! To peace, progress, and socialism! [applause]

Agenda for 2-Day Tour

LD1107223688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2040 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Tomorrow Mikhail Gorbachev will leave on a 2-day trip around Poland. From Krakow the Soviet delegation will go to Bialy Dunajec and Poronin. After its return to Krakow it is expected that a declaration on youth cooperation will be signed. There is also to be a meeting with a group of young people and then a rally of Soviet and Polish youth at Wawel Castle. Speeches by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev are expected.

There will be two special broadcasts of the Television News. At 1250 we will cover Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poronin. At 1750 we will broadcast the meeting between the two leaders and young people at Wawel Castle.

Gorbachev Departure for Krakow

LD1207092988 Warsaw PAP in English 0856 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—General Secretary of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa, now on an official visit of friendship to Poland, left for Krakow on Tuesday aboard a special plane.

Krakow Arrival, Jaruzelski Welcome

LD1207100288 Warsaw PAP in English 0940 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Krakow, July 12—At about 11 hrs today a Soviet special plane with Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife aboard landed at the Balice Airport outside Krakow.

After being welcomed by Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife, the two leaders and accompanying officials left by cars for the Tatra Highlands (Podhale) region.

Jaruzelski Comment on Visit

LD1207131988 Warsaw PAP in English 1253 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Krakow, July 12—Commenting on the first round of his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, Wojciech Jaruzelski said here on Tuesday that this was a very successful visit. Unfortunately, the packed programme does not make it possible to hold more meetings—which are being liked by the CPSU CC general secretary so much—with inhabitants of the toured towns. The meetings that have already taken place show that Soviet leader's visit is accompanied by a very cordial atmosphere. This is important, the president of the Council of State said, mainly because this is the first foreign trip of Mikhail Gorbachev after the summit and the 19th CPSU Conference.

The visit, the Polish leader said, is an opportunity and a chance for the development of the Polish-Soviet mutually profitable cooperation. This is a fact that the economic situation of our country is affected by the foreign debt while the Soviet Union has postponed the payment of our commitments to that country. The USSR is Poland's most important foreign economic partner who has been cooperating with us all the time despite the well-known economic difficulties in our country.

Olechowski Interviewed Prior to Gorbachev Visit

LD1207085688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Interview with Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski by Grzegorz Wozniak on the "Television News International Magazine" program at the Foreign Ministry; date not specified—live or recorded]

[Text] [Grzegorz Wozniak] Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski has invited a television news crew to the Foreign Ministry. Minister, allow me to congratulate you on your appointment. I am glad that you have found a moment for a television news international magazine, as did your predecessor Marian Orzechowski. This conversation will be broadcast a dozen or so hours before the start of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit. He comes to our country immediately after the CPSU Conference. In your view, is it just a coincidence, or do you see it as the event of deeper political meaning?

[Olechowski] This is of course the confirmation of particular state of our relations, which have recently been developing extensively in every respect. The fact that the general secretary is coming immediately after the 19th CPSU Conference gives it an additional significance. What we saw on our television screens, what we watched with great interest during the conference will also be discussed here, within the framework of the exchange of theoretical experience. More importantly, we will try to translate it into practical language in our relations with the Soviet Union.

[Wozniak] How would you describe the priorities for talks with the Soviet delegation. In other words, what do we want to present to our partners, and what do we expect from the talks?

[Olechowski] There are many subjects, however there is one of utmost importance for the Soviet Union and for us, this is the activity for peace, detente, and disarmament. We will discuss the subject thoroughly, but there are also many other important topics, such as one we call the Europeanization of Europe. This is also a great and important subject for Poland. We would also like to discuss a subject, which I think is interesting for both sides—how to create most favorable conditions for their restructuring [preceding word in Russian] and for our renewal. These are similar philosophies; however, each of us has to implement it in respective countries and conditions. This will be both the exchange of experiences and also practical support for our efforts.

[Wozniak] Now, I would like to ask you about your plans for the immediate future. The Polish foreign minister will soon make a official visit to Washington. Am I right in seeing it as an important step toward the further normalization of our relations with the United States?

[Olechowski] Certainly, this is not the beginning of the normalization. This stage of the normalization process is partly behind us. Surely, the Polish foreign minister's visit at the invitation of Secretary Shultz is a significant step toward normalization. Is it a crowning of our efforts? Probably not yet.

[Wozniak] You will also be going to the FRG.

[Olechowski] Yes, these are two important visits, very important from the point of view of both our partners' importance, and political and economic importance of both visits.

[Wozniak] Minister, you are a professional diplomat, you passed all the grades of your diplomatic career, and there are not too many similar careers in the world. How have you been welcomed by your partners?

[Olechowski] I have received many letters and telegrams with a lot of kind words. From this point of view I have been received quite favorably. Some of them I met as a deputy minister, and I hope that I will have a chance to strengthen our relations in the new situation. However, a complete answer to your question will be possible after a few months, when my assessment will be supported by experience.

Solidarity Activists Try To Evade Police Roundup

AU1207095388 Paris AFP in English 0950 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 12 (AFP)—About 50 people, including Solidarity activists, have taken refuge in a church at Stalowa Wola in southeast Poland to escape a police roundup, informed sources in the steelmaking town said Tuesday.

The police surrounded the church during evening Mass on Monday, and began picking up people for questioning after charging the congregation as it came out, the sources said.

Local officials of the banned trade union Solidarity were among about 50 people who retreated back into the church and spent the night there.

Last Thursday, some 4,000 steelworkers in Stalowa Wola demonstrated outside management offices calling for the reinstatement of seven Solidarity activists sacked after a strike in April. The workers threatened to strike during the official visit to Poland of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, which started here Monday.

Iranian Speedboats Attack Cargo Ship, 2 Wounded

JN0707184088 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1807 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] London, 7 Jul (INA)—At 1300 GMT today, an Iranian speedboat attacked the Romanian merchant ship "Balatarisiti" [name as received] while it was en route to Kuwait carrying a cargo of timber.

In a cable distributed here this evening, the British Lloyds insurance company said that the Iranian speedboat opened fire on the 5,934-tonne Romanian ship while it was traveling through an area of the Arabian Gulf between latitude 27.56 degrees north and longitude 50.02 degrees east. Two members of the ship's crew were wounded in the incident.

Dascalescu Congratulates Iranian Counterpart

AU0707102088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Jul 88 p 3

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a telegram to Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on his reelection to this position, extending warm congratulations and wishes for complete success in the highly responsible activity entrusted to him.

The telegram expresses the conviction that the governments of our countries will continue to make their contribution to developing relations of friendship and cooperation at various levels between Romania and Iran.

Ceausescu Receives Israeli CP Leader Vilner

AU1107184788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1729 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/07/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, received on July 11 in Neptun resort Meir Vilner, general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Israel, now visiting Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

During the interview they informed each other of the current and future preoccupations of the two parties. In that frame were highlighted the fine relations between the RCP and the CP of Israel and the wish was expressed to further develop them to the benefit of both parties, of collaboration between Romania and Israel, of the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

They also discussed aspects of the world political life, of the international Communist and worker movement. Emphasis was placed on the need for joint action of the peoples, of the progressive, democratic forces everywhere for halting the arms race and achieving disarmament, nuclear above all, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of the states of tension and conflict in various parts of the world.

Special attention was paid to the evolution of the Middle East situation. Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated the stand of the RCP, of Romania on the global, just and durable settlement of the situation in the region, based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the settlement of the Palestinian people's issue through the recognition of its right to self-determination—including the foundation of an independent state of its own—the securing of integrity, sovereignty and security of all states in the region. The importance was also assessed, of holding a UN-sponsored international conference on the Middle East issues, participated in by all parties concerned, including the PLO—the only and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—and Israel. The need was also emphasized for promoting new initiatives and actions meant to help settling the issues in the region.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Deputy Premier Ibanescu Received by Al-Qadhdhafi

AU0607110388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1027 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Tripoli 6/7/1988—The leader of the Great September 1 Revolution of the great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, received Neculai Ibanescu, deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the joint Romanian-Libyan Government Commission, under way in Tripoli.

An exchange of messages between President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi was made during the call.

The friendly and cooperative ties between Romania and Libya were brought to the fore during the interview, with emphasis on the joint wish and broad possibilities of development and diversification of the bilateral relations, mostly in policy-making, the economy, science and technics.

Foreign Minister Totu Received by Moroccan King

AU0907172888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1450 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Rabat, AGERPRES, 09/07/1988—King Hassan II of Morocco received Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ioan Totu now in Morocco to attend the sixth session of the Romanian - Moroccan Intergovernmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation.

The interview occasioned an exchange of messages between Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and King Hassan II.

During the interview emphasis was placed on the decisive role of the summit dialogue for the development of the Romanian - Moroccan ties and on the determination to work for the ever more powerful deepening and expansion of commercial exchanges and cooperation in various fields of common interest.

The sixth session of the Romanian - Moroccan Intergovernmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation took place in Rabat. The session's protocol stipulates measures for implementing the summit resolutions and understandings, the provisions of the long-term accord-programme for the intensification of commercial exchanges, for the expansion of economic and technical-scientific cooperation between the two countries.

On the session Ioan Totu, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, co-chairman of the commission, held talks with Ahmed Osman, president of the Chamber of Representatives, Abdellatif Filali, minister for foreign affairs and cooperation, co-chairman of the commission, with other members of the Moroccan Government.

Dascalescu Sends Condolences on Oil Rig Fire
AU1107192288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1834 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/7/1988—Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu sent a telegram of compassion to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in connection with the tragic accident of the "Piper Alpha" oil rig asking her to convey condolences to the bereaved families.

Ceausescu Receives British Parliamentarians
AU0807185788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1724 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/07/1988—On Friday, July 8, in Neptun Resort, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received the delegation of the Great Britain's group in the Inteparliamentary Union, led by David Mark, chairman of the Parliamentary Group for Great Britain - Romania Friendship Relations, who pays a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

The head of the delegation highly appreciated the interesting, constructive and pleasant character of their Romanian visit.

During the interview aspects were approached related to the Romanian - British relations and emphasis was placed on the existing possibilities for their further expansion on various planes.

At the same time analysis was made of current international issues, especially of those regarding the development of collaboration and confidence on the European continent, the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament first and foremost, the settlement of all present complex situations by peaceful means, through consultations, negotiations and cooperation.

Giosan Attends Reception
AU0807195688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/07/1988—Marking the visit to Romania of a delegation of the British group in the Interparliamentary Union, the charge d'affaires ad interim of Great Britain in Bucharest, Alan Clark, gave a reception on Friday, 8 July.

Attending were Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, members of the steering committees of the Romanian group in the Interparliamentary Union and the group for Romania - Great Britain friendship relations in the GNA, executives of ministries and central institutions, deputies.

During their stay in Romania the British parliamentarians paid visits to economic units, and to places of social and tourist interest in Bucharest Municipality and in Suceava, Buzau and Constanta Counties.

Ceausescu Receives Spanish Envoy's Credentials
AU1107184088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1734 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/07/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Republic, received on Monday, July 11, in Neptun resort, Antonio Nunez Garcia-Sauco, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Spain to Romania.

The address presented by the ambassador on the occasion emphasizes the Spanish and Romanian peoples' common Latinity, their cultural affinities and traditions of collaboration, Romania's and Spain's close stands on the major issues of international life, assessing that favourable conditions exist at present for the expansion of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries on various planes.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's address of reply mentions with satisfaction the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Spain that develop continuously, in keeping with the two nations' aspirations after freedom, independence and peace.

Expressed is also the wish to enlarge and diversify the economic collaboration, the commercial exchanges as well as the collaboration in education, science and culture, in the spirit of the understandings reached during summit talks in Bucharest and Madrid.

Likewise, Romania's stand on the major international issues is reiterated in the address, with stress on the fact that Romania firmly campaigns for a united Europe free of nuclear weapons, for a world of peace, understanding and cooperation.

The call occasioned an exchange of friendly messages between President Nicolae Ceausescu and King Juan Carlos I of Spain.

Ceausescu Receives CSSR Trade Union Figure

AU0707184688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1832 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 07/07/1988—On Thursday, July 7, in Neptun, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and Romania's president, received Miroslav Zavadil, alternate member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, chairman of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, who paid a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Central Council of the GURTU [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions].

During the interview reference was made to the good relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and people, between the trade union organizations included, in keeping with the understandings covenanted at top level. In this framework emphasis was placed on the existing possibilities for the further development of the Romanian - Czechoslovak collaboration on various planes, in the mutual interest, in the interest of the general cause of socialism, of strengthening international cooperation, understanding and peace.

During the talk Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the important role incumbent on trade unions in implementing the RCP and Romanian state policy, in using the broad framework of the revolutionary worker democracy, in the homeland's socialist construction.

Warmly thanking for the interview he was granted, for the opportunity to visit Romania, the guest highly appreciated the experience gained in developing worker democracy, in applying the economic-financial mechanism, the self-management, self-administration and self-financing principle as well as the Romanian people's successes in its country's socioeconomic development.

The interview occasioned an exchange of cordial salutes between the RCP and Romanian state leader and the Czechoslovak leaders, Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak.

Prague Reports

LD0707233388 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Romania—President Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, met today in Neptun with Miroslav Zavadil, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions. In their talks, they pointed out the good relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and countries and their people, including their trade union organizations. They also emphasized possibilities for furthering Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation in various areas.

Delegation Returns From Prague CEMA Session

AU1107201788 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jul 88 p 6

[Text] On Thursday, 7 July, the delegation of the SR of Romania, led by Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the Romanian Government, who participated in the 44th meeting of the CEMA session in Prague, returned to Bucharest.

At Otopeni Airport, the delegation was welcomed by Comrade Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government, and by other ministers.

Also in attendance was Jan Papp, the CSSR ambassador in Bucharest.

Upon departure from Prague, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu was seen off by Comrade Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, and by other officials.

Also in attendance was Ion Patan, Romania's ambassador in Prague.

Ceausescu Receives Polish Envoy's Credentials

AU1107183888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1739 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/07/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania received, at Neptun resort on July 11, Jerzy Wozniak, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic to Romania.

The ambassador's address is highly appreciative of the friendship and cooperation between Poland and Romania, between the PZPR and the RCP, and expresses the wish for a further growth of the Romanian-Polish political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other relations, in line with summit understandings.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's reply address emphasizes the traditions of the Romanian-Polish ties of friendship and cooperation that have deep roots in history and their successful growth, and shows that Romania will do its best also in future to diversify and expand them continuously, particularly the cooperation in the economy, technology, science and other areas, to benefit the implementation of the socialist construction development programmes of the two countries. Furthermore, satisfaction is expressed for the good collaboration between Romania and Poland in the world arena, which outstandingly contributes to the promotion of understanding and cooperation among all the peoples of our planet, to the cause of socialism and progress worldwide.

The reception was an opportunity for an exchange of friendly messages between Nicolae Ceausescu and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Ceausescu Message to Jaruzelski on Birthday

AU1107191388 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Jul 88 p 5

[Greetings telegram from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to "Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic," on his 65th birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic:

Esteemed Comrade Jaruzelski,

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the SR of Romania, and on my own behalf, I take pleasure in conveying to you best wishes and congratulations on your 65th birthday.

We appreciate your tireless activity at the helm of the Polish party and state to ensure friendly Poland's progress on the path of socialism and we appreciate the contribution you make to the cause of detente, disarmament, security, and peace throughout the world.

Our meetings in Bucharest and Warsaw, our talks, and the understandings we reached were every time a great manifestation of our solidarity and of the traditional Romanian-Polish ties, which gave new impetus to the cooperation between the RCP and the PZPR and between the SR of Romania and the Polish People's Republic.

I express my belief that the good relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will continuously expand and strengthen, for the benefit of the Romanian and Polish peoples and in the interest of socialism, cooperation, and international security. Allow me, esteemed Comrade Jaruzelski, to extend to you sincere wishes for good health, working energy, and personal happiness and wishes for new success in your highly responsible activity.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

TANJUG Cites New President's Remarks

LD3006092188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2122 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] The outgoing president and secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Bosko Krunic and Radisa Gacic respectively, extended congratulations on their own behalf and that of the Presidium to Suvar and Korosev. Afterward, the newly elected president expressed his thanks and stressed that this had been the first time that the election had been carried out by secret ballot. And this for the office of the president, with two candidates on the list, Suvar said, adding that this was a small step away from automatism and predetermination. Perhaps this is a step closer to a situation in which the issue of future LCY leaderships will be widely discussed by the entire LC prior to their election, without purely mechanical procedures and away from the tendency toward federalization.

Some articles and rumors and even behavior which preceded my and Comrade Racan's candidacy, Suvan said, created an impression that the issue of who would become President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium for 1 year was very important, almost fatal—this was despite the fact that the Presidium is a collective executive organ of the Central Committee whose duty is to work as a collective.

You have elected me, Suvar said, but you could have also elected Comrade Racan. I do not believe that one or the other personality can bring into the job, which I am about take over, a very different political line as some have speculated and will probably continue to. For, the line of action for the entire Presidium and the Central Committee, and for all leaderships and organizations, was defined by the congress and the recent LCY conference.

As far as I, and I believe Comrade Korosc, are concerned, we will do our utmost in implementing everything that in the Presidium agree on, conclude, or decide. At the same time we will advocate collective spirit and cooperation.

The most difficult period is ahead of us as the leadership, as well as all other leaderships. We will have to face difficult ordeals and either make it or break it. We are all aware of this. The economic reforms and Constitutional changes are ahead of us, and we must correctly assume our duties and carry out our tasks without delay within set deadlines. However, we must not expect the LCY Presidium and the Central Committee to assume all the responsibility.

In any case, not just the party conference, but the entire socialist public, have given us short deadlines; the present, serious situation allows no delay or hesitation. The clock is ticking, and we are running out of time. The action and capability of the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee and of the entire LC and all organized socialist forces, is vitally important for making the economy work at last and for finding better and more rational solutions for our political system. We are also faced with the pressing task of having to make various changes in the work and life of the LC as we head for the 14th LCY Congress, Stipe Suvar, the newly elected president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium concluded.

LCY Central Committee Holds Discussions

On Conference Theses Implementation

LD3007221188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0824 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—The 15th session of the LCY Central Committee is being held at Belgrade's Sava Center today, the first after the recent conference of Yugoslav Communists. For this reason the main topic of this meeting is the analysis of the proposed work program for the implementation of the LCY Conference Theses. [passage omitted]

At the beginning of the session and within the framework of a special item on the agenda concerning some cadre questions, the LCY Central Committee accepted the resignation of Branko Jercinovic from the post of member of the LCY Central Committee, consent for which had previously been granted by the Croatian LC Central Committee.

In the period between the two sessions of the LCY Central Committee, elections were held for the presidents of the LC Central Committee Presidiums in Macedonia, Croatia, and Serbia. Considering that these officials—Jakov Lazaroski, Stanko Stojcevic, and Slobodan Milosevic—have been members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium all along, the Central Committee today only noted that they will continue to form part of these organs.

The LCY Central Committee members also adopted the proposal to elect Veljko Kadijevic member of the LCY Central Committee. The election by secret ballot will be held later during the session.

After this Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, submitted an introductory report on the proposed work program for the realization of the LCY Conference Theses.

Nerandza Jovanov, the first participant in the discussion, called for reductions in the number of tasks in the work program though, as she said, only the most important future steps are included. She also believes that too few exponents of individual tasks have been envisaged and thus fears that the realization of the LCY Conference Theses may develop into a postponement of radical changes.

She quoted 8 of 31 items of the program which should be set aside as priority, while the remainder should be implemented within the framework of current LCY policy.

The most important tasks, Nerandza Jovanov said, are the realization of the economic policy, the establishment of the long-term development strategy, the realization of the Constitutional concept of Yugoslav Federation, Constitutionality, legality, the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo, the elimination of privileged positions, and the consolidation of socialist morals. The tasks concerning the change of method of realizing the LC's leading role, the analysis of LC work in republics and provinces and in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], and the democratization of cadre policy should also remain in the program.

In Nerandza Jovanov's opinion, hardships would be more easily accepted and more would be achieved if we knew how much time we needed to overcome the crisis. She also pointed out that a demand for the consolidation of Yugoslav community is not unitarism and that it cannot be assessed as a negative tendency.

If this were the only program and, moreover, concentrated on a large number of items and one half-year term, this would certainly not be enough or good, Marko Lolic said. No one is demobilized or amnestied by the conference. It has bound the entire LC, not just the Central Committee. For this reason we must today enhance the responsibility of all the other LCY organs and organizations as well, concentrating their attention on the realization of the conference Theses so that they can carry out their part of the job and duties. Lolic said the same should be done and worked out by Communists in the institutions of the system and the organs of power, self-management, and management. Also in social organizations, Constitutional and reform commissions, the press and, most of all, the Socialist Alliance.

Changes should not and cannot be carried out by Communists alone, but they should be in the forefront, guided by their strength of initiative and conviction, action and consistency, Lolic said. [passage omitted]

In a very critical and self-critical discussion, Dr Radovan Radonjic proposed that the work program make provision for the duty whereby the LC should establish the responsibility of the LC, the Presidium, and working bodies and change the method of its work. This LCY Central Committee bears a large part of responsibility for the situation in its own ranks and society, he believes. [passage omitted]

Recalling that he does not believe in the progressive nature of the activists who conceal nationalist hues behind them and those political vedettes who think that all the goodness comes from them (nationalist resurgence and democratic renaissance), Radonjic in particular warned of unsuccessful calls for initiating reforms in a fundamentally unchanged political system.

One gains the impression sometimes, Radonjic continued, that the primary aim is to make new divisions of what has already been divided, while all the other proposals about changes, apart from one's own, are viewed as something which can possibly take place later. [passage omitted]

Changes and reconstruction are needed not only in the LCY Central Committee but also in the LCS of the republican, provincial and municipal committees, and other organs and organizations. The LCY Central Committee must proceed from its own orientation, bearing in mind a possibility of changing one-third of its membership if reforms are to proceed in a timely and regular way.

Having recalled that the principle of personal example has never been valued so highly as today, Dr Radovan Radonjic handed in his resignation from the LCY Central Committee, while stressing that he is resigning not to avoid the struggle but because of a feeling of personal responsibility for failure to implement the tasks assumed at the 13th LCY Congress and a desire to contribute to efforts to open up prospects for the election of people who will be able to do more and better. He then noted that he will continue to perform his duties as a member of the LC.

The LCY Central Committee members will decide on the proposed resignation during the session. [passage omitted]

In the words of Tomislav Radovic, nationalism grew as a consequence of statism, divisions, and bureaucratic greed for power. Within this framework one should also view attacks on the YPA as a cohesive force in Yugoslavia. It is surprising, he stressed, to observe the attitude of some circles in Slovenia and even the leadership of this republic, their lack of specific definition of these attacks, as well as confusions in public statements. There are no sanctions for culprits, and we have allowed "villains and small journalists" to protect the nations as saviors and allegedly to advocate democracy, while in fact directing their activities toward the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Workers who, burdened with all their hardships, see in reforms a chance for ensuring elementary existence, cannot understand that the YPA should be defended by officers when it belongs to Yugoslavia and the people. [passage omitted]

Dwelling on the agenda of today's session, Dusan Dragosavac said that the current events in Slovenia should not, as had been envisaged, be examined only as "current issues" and purely as a report. [passage omitted]

Advocating a secure position for workers whereby they will be involved in decisionmaking concerning the process of reforms, Milka Planinc in a lenghty report appealed: "Let us go to factories—from Maribor to Djevdjelija." Among the workers, of course, and not only to pacify them and prevent strikes but to create conditions for their involvement in the solution of the crisis, on the basis of the status to which they are entitled by the constitution.

Without denying the vital need for struggle against the federalization of the party, Milka Planinc noted that it is not right that the LC should use only the "channels" of the Central Committees of the republics and the provincial LC committees in the preparation of its theses. The LCY Central Committee must produce a work program for the LC as a whole. The LC must not agree to the theses whereby some republics are progressive while some are not, because the LC must decide about what is progressive and what is not only by means of "filters" of the republican and provincial committees. [passage omitted]

Without concealing her concern, Milka Planinc said that we should prevent a situation arising in which so-called emergency measures could be considered. She reminded that democratic reforms have not been carried out by emergency measures anywhere in the world. She concluded her speech by saying that when producing the work program, we must ponder the fact that it is the party leadership, not the people or the working class, that is responsible for the unfavorable development of events. [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 10-21 not received] [passage omitted]

Having recalled that the day after the end of the LCY Conference the SFRY Assembly decided to review its work program to ensure that the key social questions do not appear on the agenda "through the back door," Dusan Popovski noted that to curb inflation is a social task of paramount importance. Having endorsed the proposed concept of radical economic reforms, he drew attention to the fact that not infrequently we adopted one package of economic policy measures after another without providing a valid analysis of why the previous one had not been implemented. With reference to current economic developments, he mentioned economic provincialism as a key problem. We do not seem to manage to deal with it although the time when the EC and EFTA will incorporate a market of 450 million people is very close. [passage omitted]

Speaking after the conclusion of the recent events outside the SFRY Assembly building, Dusan Popovski said that the people no longer come to this delegate forum on the petition-and-grievance principle. These were manifestations, outpourings of dissatisfaction, and serious warnings of such intensity that he is not sure that the Central Committee is keeping pace with them. Recalling the protest of Zmaj employees, he said that the workers wanted meetings and that both the LC and the trade unions, with the exception of observing significant anniversaries, have long since abandoned communication with the people. Instead of organizing meetings and interpreting new FEC measures, we are addressing our citizens with statements, and in this sense it is good that the Assembly continued to be open. In conclusion, Popovski expressed his serious concern over the growing nationalism which, he said, is already entering a phase of fanaticism and in the broad Yugoslav area too.

If by reading one really gains the impression that the work program is assuming tasks that are within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly and of other organs, then they have to be thoroughly redrafted, Dusan Ckrebic said.

He stressed that neither the Presidium nor the Central Committee will write the laws or the constitution, but the ideopolitical orientation of these documents and solutions must be discussed. Ckrebic also said that it is not true that there are two governments—one in the FEC and the other in the Central Committee. However, in assessing the course of the reform, we must say that we are lagging behind with the reconstruction of the FEC. It has been halted, although this task should have priority even over some international activities. Why the hesitation, Ckrebic wondered, recalling that this sort of conduct could induce some to say that the political system is delaying an urgent and necessary reconstruction of the government, for which there is support. [passage omitted]

Hrvoje Istuk proposed that the Central Committee empower the Presidium, on the basis of today's discussion, to improve the work program so that it can be applied as soon as possible. He also remarked that some forms of activity are obsolete and that radical party reform is required. He provided added weight to this view by quoting the case of the so-called federalization of the LC, expressing the view that these manifestations emerge not only because of the federal set-up of our community; they are stimulated also by some "obsolete principles by which the LC lives." [passage omitted]

Milo Djukanovic proposed that the Central Committee express its views on the ideopolitical developments in Slovenia. Having stressed that not all members of the LCY Central Committee are equally informed, Djukanovic asked whether some processes in Slovenia have escaped control in the sense of channeling them and not of curbing them, which is what one wishes to suggest.

Djukanovic is not in favor of snap judgments about the situation in other environments, but at the same time, he dissociates himself from certified vanguardism. What is happening in Slovenia is not a reflection of the people's general mood, nor is it caused only by individual troublemakers.

Referring to the atmosphere and events following Jansa's arrest, Djukanovic wondered why there is so much concern—formation of committees, collecting money—for the people for whom, with all due circumspection, serious criminal consequences can be expected, while at the same time many people in the country live on the edge of poverty, but no committees are formed nor are billions collected. [passage omitted]

Replying to Djukanovic, Borut Suklje said that it is not only rights but freedoms of thought, will and productivity that are implied under the notion of political freedoms. For every dialogue between society and political organizations, including the LCY, the point of contact is the strength and the ability and also the conviction required for the formulation and implementation of the reforms of self-management socialism in the direction of consolidated socialist democracy.

After the discussion in which 26 members of the LCY Central Committee took part, the theses of the recent first conference of Yugoslav Communists were adopted unanimously. It was decided that they represent the ideopolitical basis of LC activity in the period leading up to the 14th LCY Congress.

In view of many proposals made today to improve the proposed work program of the implementation of the party conference Theses, the Central Committee empowered its Presidium to carry out appropriate changes to the text of the program. What this is all about, it was stated, is the need to carry out a more stringent selection of the tasks implicit in the program, in which respect prominence has to be given to the key commitments.

Parallel with the decision that in no case will the LC assume the commitments which are in the jurisdiction of self-management and of the state organs, the Central Committee obligated the LC committees in the republics and provinces and the LC Committee in the YPA and all other party organs to assess critically their own work programs and coordinate them with the LCY Conference Theses.

With regard to the amendment proposed by Radovan Radonjic, who asked for the question of confidence in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium to be placed on the agenda at the end of July instead of the end of the year as envisaged by the conference Theses, the proposal by Slobodan Milosevic, who chaired the meeting, was accepted, whereby this proposal will be discussed in the same way as all other proposals submitted during the discussion concerning the draft work program. In this context it was proposed that the issue of confidence in the Central Committee be linked with the implementation of the tasks to be carried out by the end of the year. So far as the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is concerned, it was said that discussion on this should not be postponed until the end of July because the discussion today about the report on the work of the Presidium during the preceding 1-year period provides an opportunity to do that. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee discussed a report on the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in the period between last July and this June. The introductory report on this document was submitted by Presidium Secretary Radisa Gacic.

Franc Setinc, the first participant in the debate on the report on the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium during the previous 1-year period, first briefed the Central Committee on the content of the letter he recently sent to the President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium which he did to trigger off a discussion on the substance and method of work in the top executive political organ of the LCY Central Committee. In my letter to Bosko Krunic, I pointed out the shortcomings and pleaded for a decisive change in the method of work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Subsequently a discussion was held in the Presidium on this.

I am tired not because I worked a lot, but because of our method of work, Setinc said. This is why I am pleading for greater trust and respect of views by others so that we can look each other in the eye and discuss things with the assistance of cogent arguments and not slogans. Our basic shortcoming is insistence on the forum type of work, in the hyperproduction of statements, and a great number of meetings. According to Setinc the quality of the cadres is of special importance too. Perhaps I am a politician of the old type, obsolete. That is why I offered my resignation to the Presidium, but the decision on it has been postponed, Setinc said. [passage omitted]

It transpires from the report on the 1 year's work of the Presidium that it did a great deal of work, but it can not also be said that the results are commensurate with the invested effort, was the opinion of Suljo Meiz. Asking whether the reason could be in the lack of unity mentioned by the Presidium itself in its report, he said that an in-depth analysis of the reasons leading to this lack of unity is not available. Nor can I be satisfied with the remark about inadequate coordination of work between the Presidium and the republican and provincial LC committees and the organs in the federation because this remark is not accompanied by an appropriate explanation either. Nor is it quite clear what are the reasons for the inadequate activity of other organs in implementing the 13th LCY Congress Theses, said Meiz, who added that the Presidium, and not the Presidium alone, should change something in its work. [passage omitted]

As well as other comrades who worked in the municipalities, provinces and republics at one time I had a perception of the federation which is different from the one I have now, Bosko Krunic said. Considering it in the context of its constitutional functions, we have a very poor federation today. There are shortcomings also in the status of some bodies in our society and also of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in the LCY Statute.

Krunic said that it can be seen in our political practice that the LCY and its organs are criticized simultaneously both for dragging on with the action, opportunist conduct, and also for meddling in the affairs of state. Criticism is addressed because of centralism and unitarism and also for powerlessness in face of separatism and nationalism. We always had the situation of the party "interfering" with the state, more in the past than is the case now, but it has never been criticized so much as now. In addition there is much greater insistence now on finding out why congress conclusions are not being implemented than in the past.

Krunic used this picture of the situation to remind those present that the organs of the federation and the LCY comprise people from the republics and provinces. The cadre policy in the federation is pursued by the republics and provinces and yet they criticize it.

Responsibility for the distribution of income was taken away from the federation a long time ago and it would be a good thing to ask where exactly it is now held. The question is how is it that the work of all republican and provincial organs is fully supported. They are all good, and everyone in the federation is a sinner.

I would not like to detract from our responsibility by one iota, but I cannot avoid the question of what is the purpose of the pressure on the federation and on the organs which have to implement the reform.

Speaking after that of the problems in the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Krunic said that the solution implicit in the statute does not provide a flexible organ. With its membership close to 30, including the executive secretaries, because of the various tasks it often cannot meet with all its members present. Krunic believes that some interim solutions have to be devised without any "ad hoc" solutions or pseudo-radical expedients. During the next 3-4 months the forces of the executive organs, of the LCY Central Committee, of the central and provincial committees and their presidium, down to the municipality level, have to be reinvigorated. This has to be understood as a natural process, that the right people should get the right posts, Bosko Krunic said.

Vunko Hafner called on the presidents of republican and provincial LC organizations to intensify their activity in the LCY Central Committee Presidium, of which they are ex-officio members. They must be responsible both for the status and the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, just as to their own organizations they are answerable for the discharge of the office of president. In so doing they could at least to some extent facilitate the work of the presidium as the executive-political organ of the LCY Central Committee.

Referring to Tomislav Radovic's proposal that there no longer be any ex-officio members in the LCY Central Committee, Hafner said that in that case their cooperation with the Presidium would be indispensable. They are a very important integral part of the Presidium and their participation has so far produced positive results especially in providing a link in its work with the presidiums of the committees in the republics and provinces. There are also negative aspects, Hafner said. It happens that when submitting some proposals they infleunce the Presidium members from their republic. If they present their point rather strongly then the Presidium is split. This is why maybe it is necessary to reflect on the statute's changes, Hafner said.

He said that he understands Bosko Krunic's address as an attempt to justify the Presidium's work.

After a discussion in which six of its members took part, the LCY Central Committee unanimously approved the report of the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in the period between July 1987 and June 1988. On the whole, the assessments in this report and also those contained in the introductory speech submitted on this today by Radisa Gacic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, were not disputed.

In addition, in a secret vote the Central Committee elected Veljko Kadijevic a member of this party forum. Of the 123 Central Committee members who voted 121 voted for Kadijevic's election, while 2 were against.

The Central Committee adopted positions on tasks facing Communists in further developing the self-management-based method of organization and decisionmaking in associated labor. This issue was discussed in detail at the last party plenum. The LCY Central Committee Presidium was empowered to improve the stances based on the remarks and proposals made today. [passage omitted]

Following the adoption of the stances of the self-management-based method of organization in associated labor, the Central Committee also endorsed a report on the LCY financial activities last year. As a result of the decision adopted and implemented by individual republican party committees to reduce the membership fee, the LCY's total revenue from membership fees amounts to almost 81.5 billion dinars. This is a 109-percent increase on 1986, far below the inflation rate.

During the part of the session devoted to "current issues," members of the LCY Central Committee heard a report by Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, about the sessions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and of the Slovene LC Central Committee which discussed the current situation in Slovenia.

At the session today again, Krunic said, we heard expressions of dissatisfaction with the situation and tendencies over the attacks on the YPA which took place as a reaction to the arrests of Jansa, Borstner, and Tasic in Ljubljana.

Just as on 24 June, the Central Committee Presidium last night decided following lengthy reports and discussions to submit to the Central Committee a brief report and to produce with a longer one soon. Our intention is to familiarize ourselves with the situation and the way it is being assessed. Passions have flared up and the whole case fast became politicized.

In some sections of the information media, Krunic continued, and MLADINA, NOVA REVIJA, and KATEDRA have been in the forefront, the attacks on the Army and the defense system have for some months now become quite frequent. These attacks, for the most part in the form of slandering the Army and its supreme command, are accompanied by attempts to raise issues which cannot be neglected because they belong within the framework of issues to be discussed in a democratic debate in delegate assemblies and in the public, in general. These include, for instance, the issues of the budget, army training for women, arms exports and others. There is a possibility of an impression being created that, in fact, only some of these articles are out of line and, in political and professional sense, destructive or even hostile but that the debate as a whole on all of these issues does not come under the same category.

The attitude toward conscientious objection, Krunic stressed, is defended by political denunciations of the organs in the federation. All this coincides with a package of demands put by some peace movements, such as that the republics and provinces should have their own armies, that the armies should be constituted on a national basis, and so forth.

In March 1987, we adopted stances on the initiative to introduce the system of doing military service as a civilian. These stances, Krunic said, contain wide-ranging arguments about and an ideo-political approach to this issue and our opinions of the initiatives. It seemed that the issue would thus be closed. However, in March 1987, NOVA REVIJA published "A Congribution to the Slovene National Program" full of separatist ideas and slanders of the YPA and the defense system. We viewed the contirbution as having a destructive anti-Yugoslav content. The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium informed us about the action it was taking. These received support from the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Last September, the Presidium discussed the "topical socioeconomic and political situation in the country" and noted an increase in the various forms of attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and especially on the YPA.

At the beginning of this year, according to Krunic, the campaign against the YPA escalated. The motive was provided by a visit by the federal secretary for national defense to Ethiopia. The attacks were directed at the person himself but were, in fact, attacks on the entire system and were made on the pretext of promoting pacifist ideas. The SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium reacted, but their reaction also came under attack from a section of the press, Krunic said. At that time a working group was formed to prepare analysis material for a more detailed and thorough discussion of the entire problem. In March 1988, the Slovene LC Central Committee considered a report on the contribution.

I must admit that the views and judgments of the Slovene League of Communists and those of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium differed, in other words, they were not identical in the way they described the situation, Krunic added. In Slovenia they insisted on a differential and selective approach to the analysis of these issues and to debates about the Army, whereas we proceeded form the view that the focus of attention should be on their unacceptable and hostile content, Krunic said.

On 8 and 10 March the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed this topic. In our statement for the public, we said that the hostile attacks on the Army were directed against society's fundamental values, that they threaten its democratic character, and so forth, and that they are aimed at undermining the constitutional order.

Following repeated and lengthy discussions, the LCY Central Committee Presidium adopted the "views and stances on the ideopolitical nature and character of the attacks on the concept of all-people's defense and the YPA and the tasks of the LCY concerning this problem."

Under a decision adopted by the Presidium a group of five LCY Central Committee Presidium members attended an expanded session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium to present our views, overcome the discord in the existing assessments and approaches to the problems, Krunic added.

What was the Army's reaction at that time, and how were the views of the Military Council met, Krunic continued. The publication of the Military Council's view, in our opinion, could not have been behind rumors of a military coup. The very fact that the council held the meeting was used as an opportunity for different interpretations and malicious insinuations.

We postponed today's session, Krunic added, for 2 days to enable the comrades from the Slovene LC Central Committee to consider the situation in detail, to adopt stances and to inform this Central Committee about it. Last night we came to the conclusion that positive trends and criticism in evidence in the Slovene LC as regards the attacks on the YPA indicate that the Slovene LC Central Committee and its Presidium will responsibly carry out the action to stabilize the situation.

The view has prevailed—and this is quite clear—that the Slovene LC and its leadership bear maximum responsibility and that they should be allowed and be helped to carry out this task to the end, Krunic said. The present crisis and numerous social difficulties are hampering this action. However, the fact that the Slovene people are not against the YPA, that the Army is part of its achievements, and that the Slovene LC Central Committee has persevered in providing a clear platform constitute a guarantee that this situation will be successfully overcome.

Krunic's contribution was followed by the president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, who spoke about the activity of the Slovene party leadership and the stances adopted at the last plenary session of the Slovene LC Central Committee 2 days ago. He categorically stated that it is possible to emerge from the crisis in a democratic way, and that it must be that it is democratic, because the alternative would be something that is not socialism. That, Kucan said, is the gist of the message by the Slovene LC Central Committee.

In a lengthy contirbution Kucan stressed that Slovenia also condemned attacks on the YPA and its members and rejected suggestions that the YPA is an army of occupation. However, there was support for the view that arguments should be used when discussing all problems and especially those concerning the Army. Arguments should be used in such a way as to protect the Army from attacks, suspicions, and manipulations.

Although the session's agenda did not envisage a debate on Krunic's and Kucan's reports on the current situation in Slovenia, Dusan Dragosavac nevertheless asked to speak. First, he complained that issues like these do not merit just a report; they call for a thorough debate, too. He asked why the Central Committee did not consider the issue before as there is a widespread anti-Slovene and anti-Army mood in addition to anti-Albanian, anti-Croatian and anti-Serbian moods. The impression is that all nine parts of the country are an obstacle to each other. For a long time we have been exposed to the "wars" of statements against each other. All this has had a rather disastrous effect on our image in the world, Dragosavac said.

According to him, polarization in the LC has reached the stage where it has become charged with deep nationalist emotions. Yugoslavia, as the best framework for resolving national issues, is being lost in the struggle for national states.

There is no need for hostile emigres to write about us; all they have to do is to use what we write about ourselves, Dragosavac said. He stressed in conclusion that the values of this session and the one in Slovenia 2 days ago would be best confirmed in practice.

Before proposing the conclusions on this item of the agenda, Bosko Krunic agreed with Dragosavac's criticism that this set of problems should have been placed on the LCY Central Committee's agenda at an earlier stage. He explained the delay by the fact that in the meantime Central Committee members were sent various reports on the problem. After every session of the Presidiums of the LCY and the Slovene LC Central Committee, we simply expected things to end, Krunic said.

In light of the situation in Slovenia, Krunic formulated as the first conclusion the need for prompt reaction by executive-political organs to similar developmetns which may occur in other enviroments to prevent things from being done haphazardly.

Krunic said that articles which appear in some papers confirm that neither the LC nor the SAWP has the power to provide political guidance.

His next conclusion was that there is a need for exchanging information about all events and developments and for regularly informing the Central Committee members about them. Krunic also stressed the need for the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, and the Presidium of the LCY Organization in the YPA's to continue to coordinate their activities in covercoming the present situation.

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His next conclusion was that there is a need for exchanging information about all events and developments and for regularly informing the Central Committee members about them. Krunic also stressed the need for the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, and the Presidium of the LCY Organization in the YPA to continue to coordinate their activities in overcoming the present situation. Finally, Krunic recommended that the LCY Central Committee endorse the stances of the Slovene LC Central Committee.

The members of the LCY Central Committee unanimously adopted the conclusions proposed by Bosko Krunic.

At the very end of the session, Milan Kucan wanted to know what had happened to a petition by 22 Communists from Slovenia sent to the LCY Conference because, as he put it, there was some talk that this one and other petitions would be considered by the LCY Central Committee. Radisa Gacic replied that the LCY Central Committee Presidium will once again consider this petition and decide whether to submit it to the SFRY Assembly or to reply to it itself. That is how the 15th LCY Central Committee session ended.

On Financial Report

LD3006151588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1855 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—During a discussion on the financing of the LCY, the LCY Central Committee today heard and accepted a report which states that last year the party's total revenue stood at just under 81.5 billion dinars. This is a 109 percent increase over 1986, which reflects rises in the LC members' personal incomes which are the main source of the revenue. Note was taken of increased efforts by LC organizations to ensure the regular collection of membership fees. It is stressed that the slowing down in the revenue growth was caused by a decision to reduce membership fees; last year Slovene and Croat LC's reduced their membership fees twice and the Serbian LC once. [passage omitted]

The size of the membership also affects the revenue collected from the fees. No substantial changes occured here. At the end of 1987 the LCY had 2,052,212 members, a decline of 2.6 percent in comparison with the same period last year. The fees were paid more regularly than before—95.8 percent of members paid their fees on time. However, there is concern that a number of members paid their fees only out of their personal income and not from other earnings. [passage omitted]

Personal incomes are the main part of the LCY organs' expenditure. On the last day of 1987 there were 1,490 functionaries and 5,116 workers in the LCY organs. The number of functionaries fell by 135 in comparison with 1986 while the number of workers rose by 147.

Krunic Addresses Group, 29 Jun

LD2906184888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0052 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—Bold changes, changes without sentimentality and illusions, are unavoidable, and any delay will be fateful. Economic reform, without instutions in the political system adapting to it, could produce a negative effect. The younger generation in particular is becoming increasingly critical of the system and of the leadership. Our main front in social action is certainly in the field of production forces, and our first concern is to increase production, productivity, and exports, Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed in his introductory remarks at today's session of the LCY Central Committee. He indicated the basic propositions of the proposed operative program of action of the Central Committee, of its Presidium, and of its working bodies in the implementation of the theses of the recently held First LCY Conference.

The time for generalized tasks has passed. These should now be very specific and clear. Success in action, Krunic believes, will be achieved only if the full mobility and action unity of all the organs and bodies of the LC, from the basic LC organizations to the LCY Central Committee, is ensured in the implementation of these tasks, and if communists involve all the other socialist forces of our society in this as well. It is the duty and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and of the whole of the LCY to succeed in this. Therefore, it is necessary to understand that the theses do not contain tasks only for the leadership of the LC but for all members. Of course, the program does not follow precisely and in every detail all the tasks contained in the conference theses. Precisely as a result of this the proposed program encompasses the most important and key questions of the economic reform, changes in the political system, and transformations in the LCY, with specific exponents and timetables for them to be implemented.

Special impetus will be given to activity in further developing self-managing organization and decision-making in associated labor, the implementation of social policy, and the resolution of new problems which arise along with the reform measures. These are all tasks in the economic and industrial sphere which must be implemented simultaneously and in total.

In the field of the political system, according to Krunic, the focal point of LC activity should be concentrated on the responsible and consistent interpretation of the LCY stances in connection with the open questions of constitutional changes and in the coordination of stances. It is particularly important that we stick to schedules, and responsible communists in all working bodies and delegate assemblies are responsible for this. We must insist on the constitutional changes being carried out in such a way that they open up space, in terms of content and time, for more rapid reform. This is our primary responsibility. It needs to be stressed that there are also initiatives on the social scene which run counter to our ideological orientations in relation to changes to the Constitution. There are also instances of some Communists in responsible posts going so far as to speak out against the policy of the LCY, of the 13th congress, and of our social orientations, who thereby contribute to the creation of confusion in political life. This obliges all of us to involve ourselves directly and on a daily basis in interpreting our orientations and, through democratic and well-argued debate, opposing these manifestations.

Our first concern after this Central Committee session, Krunic intimated, will be the preparation of the next LCY Central Committee session, at which consideration will be given to the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth session on the situation in Kosovo. Opposite assessments of the situation, often from the same people and organs, as well as assessments on the involvement of the other republics and provinces of Vojvodina in Kosovo, and above all the continuation of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, indicate the need for us to enter into the debate in an open and well-argued way and with resolute stances in order to find a way out of the crisis in Kosovo and for the purpose of bringing to a halt the negative tendencies which are increasing.

Starting from the tasks as a whole, Bosko Krunic pointed out, the firm connection and interdependence of all the reforms which we are unambiguously advocating should not be overlooked. The conference in this respect said everything which is vital for our political action. The serious economic situation and inefficiency which makes the prospects of our finding a way out of the crisis unconvincing, threatens to compromise a political system; people do not believe in the institutions of the system and in the democratic skin beneath which there is no real content. Hence bold changes are unavoidable; however, Krunic stressed and added that the system is most effective when it is defending itself by itself—when people are defending the democratic institutions, their self-managing organization, equality, and the other achievements of socialist development. Of course, the democratic institutions of society are also defended by all other means which are sanctioned by democracy, including also legal emergency measures.

In order for us to organize ourselves and concentrate on the central questions of political work and organization to find a way out of the crisis, we must free ourselves as soon as possible from our preoccupation with incidental phenomena, affairs, mutual accusations, and everything else which is not an expression of responsbility in the tasks which we have. For years, Krunic says, the tackling of real divisions has been avoided, while excess phenomena are discussed. We now have both a situation and a platform in which to overcome this situation.

Also encompassed in the operative program are the tasks in the field of the implementation of vital changes in the method and content of the work of the LCY Central Committee and its organs and bodies. After lengthy delay, Krunic emphasized, the duties about consideration of the situation in the LCS of the republics and provinces and the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], as well as the strengthening of collective and individual responsibility for the implementation of established tasks and the democratization of cadre policy, will be elaborated and made operational.

As we said at the conference, our crisis is a deep one, Krunic went on. With the reform which has begun we are entering a new phase—the consolidation and concentration of all subjective forces on the program for finding a way out of the crisis. It has been a long time since we had such unity in the assessment of the situation and in our views on the directions of development as the ones defined in the conference theses. Departure from this is not possible now nor can there be any. However, our attention has already been drawn to the fact that there are in existence things—and in any case there are happenigs and phenomena—which are more likely designed to paralyze and devalue the stances and our action to implement them.

Even now there can be no delay in the resolution of a number of tasks. This relates in particular to relieving the economy, reducing irrational general and joint consumption, rationalizing the institutions of social activity, reducing irrational and overextensive administration in numerous institutions of the political system and associated labor, and removing various forms of unproductive overhead costs. We have quite clear orientations on these stances and that is why all activities for their implementation should be undertaken immediately in all environments. There is unjustifiable delay and precious time is being lost.

In the practical application of ths stances there will doubtless be an expression of differing perceptions and confrontation. There should be no illusion in this regard, Krunic warned, that we have a clear way ahead and that the differences are behind us. Aspirations for the maintenance of acquired positions and monopolies will continue to be expressed. Hence it is the primary task of this Central Committee that it focus fully on ensuring the unity of the LC in action and in the platform of the conference. This must be the field of our differentiation in the whole of the LC.

The united point of view of the conference to set about implementing immediately, without hesitation, and decisively the whole of the social reforms, requires intensive work and consistency. In this way we can successfully oppose attempts to diminish the achievements of the conference and open up once again questions which have already been agreed upon. In the LC organs we must resolutely oppose tendencies of the ideological concept of the reform as one whole being lost in its parts, in other words in republican and provincial agreements and in agreements made in sectors and statist and autarchic aspirations and other interests and monopolies. We should finally free ourselves from opportunism and the satisfaction of temporary interests which are always short-lived, Krunic said.

Vacillation, speculation, and delay are now a direct obstruction to the reforms and the theses of the LCY conference. Hence any oversensitivity toward the exponents of resistance to the changes which have been initiated and the way out of the crisis is dangerous. Lagging behind on this road means moving backward and even more serious deepening of the crisis, with unforeseeable consequences. The reform is not a collection of radical demands and some promises, Krunic emphasized, but an open confrontation with the difficulties and trials and the necessity of resolving the crisis effectively.

We must start from the powerfully expressed point of view of the working class that moves be made immediately toward reform and changes, as well as from the fact that we have at our disposal significant material, cadre, expert and scientific potential, which constitutes a real basis for the more rapid and dynamic scientific-technological and social progress and the broad incorporation of our economy in the international division of labor and on this basis greater material and social advancement. Reliance on our own forces, knowledge and mature social, socialist, and self-managing consciousness is now coming to full expression.

The LC has the obligation and historical responsibility to direct action and to campaign for the full mobilization of all working people, all creative forces, and for the reform of the economy and society and the overcoming of difficulties. Thus, Krunic specified, the LC does not "extract" society from the crisis, it is responsible for directing action so that its members are at the forefront of all activities. Two million members do not replace the complete work and creative potential of the working class, of working people, and of youth.

There is great concern. There are no strong guarantees and we cannot give guarantees of emerging rapidly from the crisis. The general orientation for changes, for market-oriented business methods, for reform as a whole, comes into conflict in specific situations with partial interests and with "the protection" of individual and collective interests. The reform will go ahead with difficult and small steps and will be all the more difficult if the necessary creative activity of all subjective forces which bear the changes is lacking, Krunic said.

Orientation toward the market does not keep back responsibility for the organization of subjective forces, for knowledge, for the capability to adapt to and maintain oneself in the market, for greater production, and for ensuring social security. If we were to leave everything only to the disorderly influence of the market, Krunic believes, we would get into even greater difficulties. At this juncture it is exceptionally important to strengthen the awareness that there is no departure and that the way forward into the reforms is organized and well thought through in each environment.

Attention should be drawn to this, especially in view of the fact that the first tremors—strikes, workers coming out onto the streets, and serious social problems which are growing—are leading both to vacillation and poor compromises which threaten to devalue the program around which we were so united in our agreement at the conference. Relaxation in the face of these phenomena would be a serious blow to the reforms. We could have anticipated social dissatisfaction and strikes. In fact, we counted on certain tremors in individual environments but then the obligation was all the greater that we mobilize and organize ourselves so that we can persist with the reforms and at the same time prevent the phenomena which arise on this basis.

It has now been shown, Krunic went on, that social problems in individual environments can take on the form of general political dissatisfaction. These are phenomena of severe criticism of the Federation and especially of the FEC, the Presidency, and the Presidium. Previously, sluggishness over the implementation of the reforms and on the path toward the reforms and difficult specific situations were blamed on these organs, though this is most frequently the result of chronic weaknesses in business operations in development. [as received] Of course, when things are moving ahead in disorderly fashion, organized political work also falls by the wayside. The more incompetence there is and the more unreadiness to meet the reforms with practical measures and to create them in every environment, the more opportunism there will be as well as buck-passing.

We never acceded to being a party of the state, a party leadership which unreservedly supports the federal government, but now that the reform is under way, and that the measures have begun to take effect, it is the responsibility of all of us to persist with global orientations in specific policy as well.

The awareness is growing slowly, Krunic pointed out, that employed people themselves protect their standard and that it is protected in the workplace. We must count on the best social program being the one which has at its focal point an orientation toward greater production, new products, restructuring, and the opening up of new productive jobs. This society as a whole has long since gone too far in general and joint consumption and especially in the provision of social benefits and we are now coming into serious conflict with this fact—restrictive measures are undertaken and implemented with difficulty.

The real contact with life and the real content of our daily political involvement cannot be ensured at meetings. When the situation is so difficult, when workers come out onto the streets, we should not carry on with endless meetings. In such situations the bottleneck in our organization is shown best. The leaderships, Krunic believes, must be in the organizations of associated labor where the problems arise, where they can be resolved most successfully, where all our political decisions are verified, and where all kinds of social dramas are played out.

The reform on which we are embarking provides two kinds of impulses to the LC—to rejuvenate and renew itself by the involvement of ambitious and courageous exponents of new perceptions and knowledge, exponents with a broad self-managing and democratic orientation, and to regenerate itself on the good traditions of criticism of itself and differentiation, in the framework of which it will inevitably purge its ranks of the ballast of opportunism, idleness, and vacillation in the face of onslaughts by other ideologies and alternatives to Tito's Yugoslavia.

The general state of mobility within the LCY, Krunic assessed, is unsatisfactory. The content of party life is still inappropriate to the complexity of the situation and established tasks. This must be discussed at all levels—from the Central Committee, in which there is a lack of more comprehensive involvement of all members in all the tasks which the Central Committee is today involved, right down to the basic LC organizations. It now seems most important that in party political work priority be given to the training of basic and municipal organizations for the implementation of social goals. The question of the reactivation of the work of the aktivs of communists and workers attached to municipal committees is also being opened up in the most serious way.

The conference stances provide a basis for developing a new socialist public opinion. Of course, it is the responsibility of the leaderships that this process acquire a real content. We should not accept, Krunic stresses, everything on the back of the LC nor take responsibility in a masochistic way for everything—for everyone's work, for every institution, and for each organ. We must accept criticism if the system does not function and this is why it is important for each person to bear his share of work and responsibility.

Members of the LC organs everywhere, as well as we in the Central Committee must take on individual responsibility in a more direct way. What does our already threadbare statement mean that various negative phenomena are passing by alongside us, that we often do not resist nationalism, that we are reconciled with opportunism, and that we are unprepared for ideological battle. Along with everything else this means our real unpreparedness for the implementation of individual and collective responsibility.

We should not for one moment lose sight of the fact that nationalist euphoria is growing in the country. It cannot be understood only as the excessive glorification of one's own nation or chauvinist exclusivity vis a vis other nations. Nationalism is a multifarious and serious disease within our sensitive organs, today more than ever in the postwar period.

Very often sparks fly for insignificant reasons, but the consequences are very serious. All those who want to obtain power by destruction are looking for an opportunity today. They are making a great deal of noise, but their proposals are vague. For this reason the phenomena of nationalism and various forms of attacks on the institutions of the system are on the increase, as are attacks on leaderships and even the party ideology, its historic role, the role of Tito, the army, the system of all-people's defense, and many other postulates of our federative self-managing community. We must not be confused by the fact that there will be further attempts to devalue our stands and the orientation which was defined at the conference, Krunic said.

It largely depends on us how to maintain the stands at the focus of attention of our work and of the entire LC and to what extent they will turn into the political weapons of all socialist forces. This is why the work on the program does not end with our session and with what we will adopt today. It is the duty of everyone, and literally everyone, said Krunic, to pass their own programs concerning the realization of the theses of the LCY Conference in the LC organs and organizations and also to ensure activity aimed at their consistent realization.

This session is being held at the time which is not easy in any respect. We have embarked on reforms. Many events come as a surprise to us. The present leadership carries the burden which is truly very heavy. It will be necessary to revitalize our forces and be on our guard when it comes to various saviors and their allies. No one has ever proved himself for good. In a crisis a chance must be given to modest, honest, and courageous people and creators, especially those who are working. We must embark on these processes with greater resolve and conviction in the success of changes, as was put forth at the conference, stressed Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, winding up his introductory report at today's session of the LCY Central Committee.

Gacic Report to Session

LD2906204788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0055 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—Despite enormous efforts and activity we cannot help but note that the results achieved by the LCY Central Committee Presidium in its work are unsatisfactory. This was stressed by Radisa Gacic, secretary of the Presidium, in an introductory report on the LCY Central Committee Presidium's work over the last 12 months which he submitted at today's session of the LCY Central Committee.

Both at LCY Central Committee sessions and at the LCY conference it was agreed, Radisa Gacic said, that the implementation of congress resolutions on major issues and of the Central Committee's standpoints and conclusions is inconsistent and slow and in some areas nonexistent. As a result, the crisis in many spheres of life continues to be exacerbated over this period, particularly in the field of socioeconomic relations, in the ideological sphere, and in some aspects of the political-security situation.

As indicated by the number of sessions and of issues discussed, in the preceding period the Presidium embarked on intensive activity to examine the most important ideopolitical issues in all spheres of social life. These problems occupied the Presidium's attention during the preparations for the LCY Central Committee sessions and in the course of implementing the standpoints and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee with the aim of defining its tasks, the ways of carrying them out, and deadlines, and of mobilizing the LC to tackle them. The Presidium regularly informed the Central Committee about its activity, about all specific actions, and the most important discussions and standpoints it adopted. It invested great efforts to ensure full and consistent implementation of the issues envisaged by the programs of work for the Central Committee and the Presidium.

The Presidium and its working bodies devoted a considerable part of its activities over the last 12 months to preparations for the first LCY conference. In our view, despite the shortage of time, this task was carried out successfully in all its stages. In a relatively short time we organized this very important gathering of Yugoslav communists which resembled an LCY congress in the nature of issues it considered, the adopted theses, the number of delegates, and its duration.

Speaking about the exacerbating crisis, Gacic made reference to the situation in Kosovo. Although the Presidium regularly discusses and examines individual aspects of the ideopolitical and security situation in the province, the overall situation continues to be difficult and complex. According to Gacic, the heaviest burden weighing on it is the continued emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under nationalist pressures. The functioning of relevant state organs and other institutions of the system in securing full personal safety, freedoms, and rights for citizens in Kosovo is still inadequate and their efficient functioning therefore remains a task of prime importance for stabilizing the overall situation in Kosovo.

At the same time, Gacic stressed, we must intensify activities in implementing the Yugoslav program on Kosovo which, at the moment, is being fulfilled most consistently only by organs in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and by others at a very slow pace and with considerable delays. In light of all this, the Presidium has decided to carry out a more comprehensive analysis of the way the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo are being implemented and prepare a comprehensive report about it for the next Central Committee session.

The question to ask is why the overall results in the work of the Presidium and this Central Committee do not correspond to the serious and complex nature of the present juncture and the imperatives and requirements of our social practice. Accepting all justified criticism directed at the Presidium it is still necessary to ask what the real causes of the present situation are—is it simply or predominantly the work of the Presidium and its working bodies. It is more realistic to look for the causes in the work of both the Presidium and of the Central Committee and also in the overall state of relations within the LCY, in the work of other institutions of the system, and in the deep deformations in social relations in the country.

This is not an attempt to renege on our responsibility but to reiterate that realistic assessments alone should be used as a basis for defining tasks and creating conditions in which all LC organizations and organs and, in particular, the LC organs in the republics and provinces, and all institutions of the system and members of the LC within them, will assume their share of responsibility, Gacic said.

The causes of inefficiency in overcoming the state of crisis lie primarily in the serious nature of social circumstances and in the depth of the crisis itself, its duration and in the rather long period of sluggishness, vacillation, and disunity in the search for solutions not just in the LCY leaderships or in the LC but, above all, in the institutions with the Constitutional function of proposing and implementing—in line with the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress—measures and changes to reflect the depth of the social crisis.

The complexity of relations in the country is also among the causes of our inefficiency. And instead of using this as a pretext to be more determined and quicker in searching for commonly acceptable solutions, it often happens that, under pressure from the existing situation, policies are outlined, standpoints adopted,and commitments and behavior followed by small-scale sociopolitical communities, organizations of association labor, and, in particular, by the republics and provinces, without due attention to and respect for common interests and unity.

These differences and standpoints which are adopted in such a way, Gacic pointed out, are transferred into the institutions of the system and of the federation with a high degree of exclusiveness in defending particular stands and interests and with pronounced politicization whose reasons are often to be found in the ideas of alleged threats to national or provincial and republican interests. Such behavior inevitably threatens common interests and thwarts the successful functioning of the system's institutions at the level of the federation and within their constitutional powers. This has led not just to delays in developing common stands but also to obstacles in the decision-making system which subsequently have to be removed through compromises.

This, according to Gacic, is pulling us deeper into the crisis and is paralyzing not just individual institutions but the system as a whole. Under such circumstances good solutions and sound pragmatic moves are not sufficient for changing the situation.

In such a situation neither the LCY nor the communists and LC organization lived up to their role of vanguard. The LC and even this Central Committee often failed in fulfilling their vanguard role. The LC often succumbed to the atmosphere and circumstances of specific environments and often identified itself with or tacticly approved such behavior. It was often divided and insular and was a weapon of those advocating local interests by being insufficiently self-critical. This led to obstacles within the LC itself, in its organizations and organs, and even in the central Committee and its Presidium, thus slowing down or even thwarting efforts to develop united stands in line with the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress.

In a situation where the LC fails to react promptly and to use its resources to impose its views, the national factor takes over at the expense of the class approach, territorial and national homogenization takes place with complete neglect of common interests and of the LC's principled policy. That is the time when antisocialist and anticommunist activity intensifies, when Tito and his work, the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], brotherhood, unity and the equality of our nations and nationalities are insanely attacked. Unprincipled and unacceptable confrontations appear on the scene, such as seeking who is exploiting whom, who is the loser and who the winner. Under such circumstances nationalism permeates unobstructed into the LC.

In such a situation, Gacic noted, the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium are under enormous pressure to search for solutions and to reestablish unity more quickly. Objectively speaking, firmly entrenched local interests with the backing of LC organs in the republics and provinces can either facilitate or slow down this process by using compromises and generalizations which provide scope for differing interpretations of one's efforts.

Calls by the membership and wider public for the LC leaderships to develop unity and overcome differences much faster are quite justified, Gacic noted. However, it should be borne in mind that the leaderships did not work in isolation. They include representatives from various environments and localities who often occupy most important functions there. They themselves are not necessarily advocates of various views and stands but it is their duty to present and interpret them. A more responsible attitude by all sections of the LC and all its organizations and organs is therefore necessary to speed up the pace of developing unity, overcoming divisions and differences, and building confidence among us. [passage omitted]

If the economic and political reforms are to be carried out successfully, radical changes are needed in the LC itself and in the way it fulfills its leading role. The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium should make their full and active contribution to this commitment which the LCY conference endorsed and strongly supported.

These changes should affect both the content and method of the LC's work; the organization, election, and composition of its organs; cadre renewal; democratization in relations within it; the development of ideological and action unity; and the cration of conditions in which the LCY will function as a united, revolutionary organization and will be able to rid itself of the vestiges of a party in power more quickly and radically. Total initiative and activity is needed in all organizations and in each individual LC in order to disperse illusions that the situation can be changed by holding sessions, adopting theses and conclusions, and doing nothing to implement them consistently.

The Central Committee and its Presidium, Gacic continued, must define in more specific terms and encourage the necessary changes in the nature of the LC and in the way it fulfills its leading ideopolitical role. In this area a great number of ideopolitical ambiguities and controversies have accumulated and they should be overcome. The most important task in all this is for the LC to take into consideration and reflect in its actions on the interests of the working class and to organize it in such a way that it can lead society along the path of progress.

It is true that we would be extremely biased and not self-critical, stressed Gacic, if we did not see and draw attention to the fact that this Central Committee and its Presidium bear a considerable part of the responsibility for such a situation. Even in present circumstances, and taking into account all these restrictions, the existing statutory, organizational, and cadre solutions should have made a greater contribution and done a great deal more in order to realize more successfully the congress orientations and their own stands. However, there has not always been enough readiness, resolve, or perseverence for this, especially for putting an end to the federalization of the LCY, for breaking up more quickly "unity" and "compactness" in a negative sense with territorial and even nationalist manifestations; for preventing part of the LC from being understood as an absolutely independent organ and for preventing the introduction of consensus into the process of decision-making in the LCY organs. However, now that we are analyzing the report on our past work, it is necessary to assess the work of the Presidium in a more comprehensive way, not forgetting its failures and weaknesses. The Central Committee should also endorse those necessary measures which should be taken in order that the Presidium should be able to organize activities aimed at the realization of the operational program of the LCY Conference and fulfill its executive and political role more successfully and in full. Weaknesses in the work of the LCY Central Committee and of the Presidium have also been a subject of criticism among the LC membership on previous occasions. However, the criticism voiced at the LCY conference has a broader significance; it concerns the work of all the LC leaderships and, within this framework, all the LC organs. The LCY Presidium and Central Committee should draw a lesson from this for their future work. [passage omitted]

At the same time, even when unanimous stands have been adopted after discussions, the Presidium has not always adequately strived to ensure their realization, and so in these situations it has not been possible to call for or to establish responsibility resolutely for failures to realize them. A characteristic example of different behavior of the LC organs and organizations, as already stated in the report, can be found in the realization of the stands of the LCY Central Comittee on the LCY tasks in the ideological struggle of the LC for the development of socialist self-management and socialist democracy, which were refuted immediately after their adoption even by those who should have been in the forefront of their realization. [passage omitted]

The obvious weaknesses in the work of the Presidium, which were a subject of just criticism by the LC membership and delegates at the LCY conference, must be eliminated more speedily. Out of an awareness of these weaknesses and failures, recently we have discussed on several occasions in the LCY Central Committee Presidium our own work and the method and content of this work, seeing solutions and analyzing specific proposals on how to improve it.

It is the assessment of the Presidium that in the forthcoming period stress must be laid on eliminating those weaknesses which were manifested in the realization of its executive function, because they are responsible for slowness and inertia in this organ, which largely exhausts its energy at sessions, in the adopting of stands and in the passing of conclusions. It is obvious that in this respect the present, often extensive way of approving stands must be altered, as must the insufficient selection in the choice of questions discussed at sessions of the Presidium and the insufficient analysis of the LCY Central Committee conclusions which are not binding enough, thus preventing efficient control over the implementation of the established policy. [passage omitted]

The members of the Presidium and the executive secretaries should participate much more frequently and regularly in the work of organs of the republican and provincial LC organizations and also in the basic LC organizations, especially in associated labor. This would certainly contribute to the more effective realization of the stands and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee and Presidium.

In conditions of crisis and demands for rational behavior and for the spending of social resources, we have attempted on the whole to use the funds from membership fees in a more rational way, to introduce self-financing of the LC, to reduce the number of those employed, to make the method and scale of spending more accessible to the public, and to reduce membership fees. The LCY Central Committee and the Presidium regularly inspect the way funds are being used at the level of the LCY and take measures to make it more rational. At one of the next sessions we will reexamine the membership fee and propose its reduction. [pasage omitted]

In the past months the Presidium attempted to better organize work on briefing the LC members and the broader public on its activities and sessions. Discussions on some important ideopolitical questions, noted Gacic, are being covered by journalists from several editorial boards, thus ensuring more comprehensive, professional, and better quality information for the LC members, organs, organizations, and (?working people and citizens) about the conclusions and assessments at sessions of the Presidium, and about its work and efforts. Initial experiences in this respect have been positive and should therefore be developed and perfected alongside eliminating obvious weaknesses.

Proceeding from the LCY Conference theses, the Central Committee should assess the work of the Presidium in a comprehensive and critical way, on the basis of the analysis of this report. For the sake of implementing these theses as successfully as possible it is necessary to critically and openly examine the weaknesses in the work of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium and establish in the most specific way possible the measures which should be taken to implement more successfully the function of these LCY organs and to consolidate their reputation and trust among the LCY members.

Apart from this, the Central Committee, in keeping with the conference theses, should assess whether cadre changes within the Central Committee and Presidium are needed and if it decides in favor of the changes, carry them out whether it is a matter of the Presidium as a whole or of its members individually.

Time requires that everyone, especially the LC and its organs, invest greater initiative, responsibility, and unity with regard to changing the present situation. There is no time for waiting, hesitating, and delaying. This must be the main orientation both for the work of the Central Committee and of the Presidium in the forthcoming period, concluded Radisa Gacic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

LCY CC on Completion of Constitution Amendments

LD0707210288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee Presidium today called on the SFRY Assembly's Constitutional Commission to complete its work on drafting proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution by the end of July, as envisaged by set deadlines. The conclusion reached at the session, which was presided over by Stipe Suvar, was that, in the meantime, all those involved in the process of harmonizing and drawing up the proposed amendments should invest maximum effort in a democratic and well-argued discussion to overcome their differences and reduce the number of open issues.

Briefing the Presidium on the course and results of the work on preparing proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution, Vidoje Zarkovic stressed in an introductory report that the Constitutional Commission would not be able by itself to coordinate all the issues concerning the constitutional changes. There are some problems that require the direct involvement of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and, perhaps, even the LCY Central Committee, Zarkovic said.

The purpose of this involvement would not be to play a role of an arbiter—a role inappropriate for the LC—but to provide an ideopolitical expanation of outstanding issues, thus helping to coordinate standpoints within the Constitutional Commission and the relevant bodies responsible for making decisions about constitutional changes. I think it can be rightly said that the Constitutional Commission faces a very—and perhaps the most—difficult part of the job of formulating the draft constitutional amendments.

If the Constitutional Commission failed to draw up the draft constitutional changes within the set deadline, and if the changes are not completed by 29 November, there will be no economic reform and very little will be done to implement the stands of the LCY Conference, Zarkovic underlined, warning of major consequences likely to result from this.

Noting that, in the light of this, the Constitutional Commission had a duty to use the remaining time in a more effective and organized way, Zarkovic also said that all political organs in the federation, the republics, and the provinces were also duty-bound to help the commission and to treat the work on preparing the draft amendments as a priority task. It is also likely, he added, that the Constitutional Commission will not complete its work before August because the Coordinating Working Group delayed its work on preparing the text of the proposed amendments, not starting on it until June. The work was planned to start either in March or April. The only way to catch up is through intensified work and increased willingness by all to speed up the process of coordinating the standpoints on all outstanding issues.

There is no doubt, Zarkovic continued, that following the LCY Conference the Constitutional Commission's Coordinating Working Group approached its tasks with increased responsibility. But it can nevertheless be said that neither the spirit of the conference nor its stands have produced the desired effect on the atmosphere in the present stage in the preparations. In Zarkovic's opinion, it is thus necessary to show more readiness to work on overcoming stubborn adherence to the interests of narrow circles, republics and provinces, to listen and acknowledge arguments favoring different solutions and aimed at finding solutions acceptable to all.

Zarkovic also stressed the need for a more responsive attitude to the demands made during the public debate and the LCY conference for deeper constitutional changes than those proposed in the draft amendments. In this respect, the coordinating group has shown readiness to comply with this in relation to the amendments concerning the socioeconomic system. However, when it comes to the changes in the political system and the nature of relations in the federation, instead of the similar degree of readiness, some of those taking part in the coordinating group's are trying to ensure that the scale of the changes is smaller than proposed in the draft amendments. This could lead to further exacerbation of the crisis, he stressed. [TANJUG part three has not been received; item continues with TANJUG part four]

Zarkovic also mentioned a lack of coordination in present discussions in the coordination group on a large number of questions concerning the political system and relations in the federation. It is a matter of the constitutional regulation of the area of authority of the federation, he specified, in the sphere of tax policy and the foundations of the legislative system; the establishment of the area of authority of the federal court and the federal public prosecutor; the uniform strategy of the technological development of the country; and the foundation of the system of integration of citizens and the method of resolving problems in the case of a conflict between the republican and federal laws. It is expected, as he put it, that a similar situation could arise in connection with the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army and the area of authority of the constitutional court of Yugoslavia.

For this reason Zarkovic emphasized that without hearing and weighing the the arguments of others, and not just one's own environments, it would be difficult to obtain consent. Regardless of the right of each of these subjects not to accept some solutions, he said, we must ponder what this means for everyone else who must, in fact, change their stands because of this fact alone, and not because of the convincing nature of a more complete counterargument. This would, he thinks, considerably increase politicization, aggravate the situation, and threaten to block the constitutional changes.

Greater readiness for a democratic and effective coordination of stands, in Zarkovic's words, is required, especially from the Presidiums of the LC Central and Provincial Committees, which much have a maximum effect in this direction.

According to Zarkovic, the LCY Central Committee Presidium should also adopt a stand on the question, should we remove the constitutional provision whereby the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is a member of the SFRY Presidency ex officio. There is a unanimous view in the coordination group that this provision should be taken out. It is also necessary that the LCY Central Committee Presidium vote for or against the abolition of a 1-year mandate of the president and vice president of the SFRY Presidency and the introduction of a longer mandate. Views on this are divided in the coordination group.

Big differences, Zarkovic emphasized; are also manifested in connection with the method of electing members of the SFRY Presidency and whether they should be elected by the assemblies of republics and provinces or the SFRY Assembly. The coordination group, he said, tried to reach a compromise—that members of the SFRY Presidency should continue to be elected by the assemblies of the republics and provinces while the SFRY Assembly should verify their election by a secret ballot.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium will, most likely, Zarkovic said, also have to vote for or against the demands for the introduction of a chamber of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly. The assemblies of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro are resolutely in favor of this, as are the Yugoslav trade union federation, and veteran and youth organizations. However, the assemblies of Slovenia and Kosovo are firmly against it, while representatives of the assemblies of Croatia, Macedonia, and Vojvodina have not adopted a firm stand either "for" or "against" and have requested coordination. Zarkovic noted that a working group was set up to try to prepared a proposal on which, within the framework of the Constitutional Commission, consent may be reached. The essence of this proposal, as he put it, consists of setting up a conference of self-managers of Yugoslavia as a permanent body, which would participate on an equal footing in decisionmaking in the SFRY Assembly in connection with key issues of controlling the processes in social reproduction.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, said Zarkovic in the final part of his report, should urgently deal with relations in Serbia [passage indistinct]. Full consent was reached in connection with endorsing the text of the draft amendments, he recalled, adding that differences now appear again concerning some of these same solutions. Problems and conflicts in the work on the preparation of the changes to the Constitution of Serbia have a direct impact on the coordination of stands on the questions from the sphere of these relations, which are regulated by the SFRY Constitution.

For this reason we should get to the heart of these problems and strive to prevent further exacerbation; we should contribute to efforts to find a way out of the already exacerbated relations, concluded Vidoje Zarkovic.

It was emphasized in the discussion that a rhythm of work has been achieved in the coordination group of the Constitutional Commission which, without going backward, will be able to ensure a search for all acceptable solutions. Together with the assessment that in this respect there are some forced issued which cause concern to the public, it was noted that a reduction in the number of disagreements is expected. The Presidency, it was stated, should involve itself precisely in this direction, because there is an increasing desire on the part of everyone to make the system more efficient.

On the process for coordinating stances, the Presidum of the LCY Central Committee, it was stressed, should not just be informed, but should also have specific stances, because the importance of the constitutional amendments will be diminished if the unresolved issues are not solved. The opinion was expressed that it is unacceptable that the reform of the economic system should be completely conditioned by changes to the Constitution, and in the discussion the current situation was described as the last moment for overcoming differences. One should neither underestimate nor overestimate what has been done so far toward changing the federal Constitution, and the LC must respond to pressures being exerted on the process of coordinating stances and to certain unacceptable ideological tendencies which have surfaced in the public discussion.

Concluding the discussion, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Dr Stipe Suvar, said that "despite the shortage of time, there is a measured optimism that the constitutional changes would be adopted by 29 November, as envisaged. The LCY Central Committee Presidium has confidence in the work of the Constitutional Commission of the SFRY Assembly and in the work of the constitutional commissions in the republics and provinces, which must achieve even greater direct cooperation in order to overcome contentious issues and differences.

The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, Suvar stressed, cannot and will not impose solutions and arbitrate, but, conscious of their responsibility for the implementation of the constitutional changes, they call on the Constitutional Commission to finish its part of the work on the development of the proposed amendments in the envisaged time limit, by the end of this month. Otherwise, further work on the constitutional amendments which remains for the fall, will be brought into question.

We recommend that the party presidiums in the republics and provinces, said Suvar, engage themselves politically in this action and contribute to a greater readiness for the democratic coordination of stances. The LCY Central Committee Presidium considers that, through the work on the text of the proposed amendments, the calls made in the public discussion should be taken into account as far as possible, as should the stances of the LCY conference, particularly since in the area of economic relations greater changes were being proposed than those set out in the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution.

Finally, Suvar said, emphasizing above all changes in the economic system, everything that has been blocking this should be removed from the Constitution. However, this does not mean that the FEC and the SFRY Assembly should not meanwhile quickly change everything that the Constitution is not blocking in the sphere of economic reform, but which is essential for its realisation. [sentence as received]

The LCY Central Committee Presidium today also considered information on the implementation of the conclusions of the sixth session of the LCY Central Committee—on the realization of the role of LC members and organizations in the SAWP. The assessment was made that a relatively high degree of fundamental unity has been achieved on the key issues of the realization of the constitutional role of the SAWP. Steps have also been made in the internal democratization of the LC and its opening up toward the SAWP, and a more favorable climate has been created for the fuller realization of the social position of the SAWP.

However, it was said, this is not nearly enough. The crisis creates the need for a more rapid development of the SAWP as an absolutely flexible political sensor which the LC, in its relationship to it, does not underestimate. The SAWP should persevere in strengthening its influence on social trends, not imitating the LC, it was said in this discussion. In connection with this the question was also raised of whether membership of the SAWP Presidium is justified for the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium will continue to concern itself with this problem, which in the foreseeable future should also appear on the agenda of the LCY Central Committee.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium also considered information on the implementation of the conclusions of the eighth session of the LCY Central Committee on the development of the agro-industrial complex and social self-managing relations in agriculture and in the villages.

Taking as its starting point the assessment that the conclusions of this LCY Central Committee session are not being realized, that the position of farmers is getting worse, that agricultural production is falling, and that dissatisfaction is arising among both farmers and consumers, the Presidium concluded that at one of the forthcoming sessions of the LCY Central Committee information should be submitted on topical ideopolitical issues and problems in the implementation of the conclusions of the eighth session of the LCY Central Committee.

The Presidium also called for an assessment by the competent federal organs of the situation and the prospects for development in this area, particularly following the economic policy measures of 15 May 1988.

LCY CC Presidium Debates SAWP Social Role

LD0707133288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0942 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—Over the past 12 months, since the adoption of the LCY Central Committee's standpoints on the SAWP, initial steps have been taken to enhance internal democratization in the LC and increase its activity in the Socialist Alliance. A more favorable climate has been created for implementing the SAWP's social role. Awareness is growing in all environments that there can be no mobilization toward social progress without a developed Socialist Alliance. This was stated at a session yesterday of the LCY Central Committee Presidium during a debate on a report on the implementation so far of the conclusions adopted at the sixth LCY Central Committee session on fulfilling the role of LC members and organizations in the SAWPY.

The report, however, points out the reasons for dissatisfaction with the development so far in the SAWP and the Communists' involvement in it. It is said that both the SAWP and the LC continued to pay inadequate attention to mass political work despite the evidence that where this work is present outstanding issues are resolved more efficiently. Communists are being rightly criticized for inadequate involvement in the work of social organizations and associations.

In his introductory remarks Franc Setinc, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, noted that certain positive trends had been observed after the LCY Central Committee's session on the role of LC members and organizations in the SAWP, but that their effects were more noticeable in the leadership than in the LC organizations. An opinion poll on this issue has shown that no steps have been taken in overcoming the Socialist Alliance's role of merely conveying ideas and messages. Of course, there is evidence of some positive trends and these should be strongly supported.

But the SAWP is far from being a modern and efficient mass organization and a popular movement for progress. There are still many people, Setinc said, who do not see the Socialist Alliance as a place to develop their potential. A public opinion poll conducted in Slovenia, where the SAWP has enjoyed a very long tradition, showed that 36.6 percent of those polled thought the Socialist Alliance dealt with issues of interest to people while 33.7 percent had the opposite view.

The current crisis requires the Socialist Alliance to develop much faster, and above all to enhance its action capability, Setinc stressed. It must become politically sensitive to various problems; it must become completely flexible in selecting which existential problems to deal with and in what way.

The SAWP is also in the grip of outmoded work methods. We must be more courageous [words indistinct] especially in the organs, Setinc said. A more positive shift is to be expected from the coming elections to the SAWP organs.

The majority of people want to see the Socialist Alliance more independent, with as specific a work program as possible. But this does not imply its total separation from the LC's creative and leading ideopolitical role. It is a call for greater political independence of action based on the unity [words indistinct] creating new concepts and forms and freeing itself from various restraints. In other words, the Socialist Alliance must persevere in consolidating its influence on trends within delegate bodies and throughout society. It was noted in the opinion poll that the real coordination of action still takes amount of coordination with the Socialist Alliance relates to the issues of economic policy and economic development.

Non-LC members have become more active in the SAWP but their number is still small [words indistinct] the factors in the front and even the LC and in ridding the SAWP of its role as a conveyer, pushing it aside. The prevailing view is that the LC has not sufficiently engaged its entire membership in actions within the SAWP and that it has limited its involvement to just sending delegates and delegations to the SAWP organs and various working bodies.

Following the LCY Central Committee session on the SAWP, a more realistic attitude was assumed by the SAWP organizaitons and organs toward the so-called new social movements, Setinc said. All positive experience gained from the practice of expressing spontaneously socialist conscience and reflecting reaction to real social problems [passage indistinct].

At its session yesterday, the LCY Central Committee Presidium also considered a report on the situation and problems in agricultural industry and on the current economic and development measures in this field. It was pointed out that the agriculture situation was worsening as a result primarily of the increasingly difficult economic position of food producers. The difficult agriculture situation has also been caused by the sector's inadequate status in the economic system and by delays in adopting a social contract on the strategy of agricultural development up to the year 2000. [passage omitted]